

**TRADITIONAL MAORI DRESS:
REDISCOVERING FORGOTTEN
ELEMENTS
OF PRE-1820 PRACTICE**

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This thesis is dedicated to the memory of my friend Mary Hart

who enriched my life in so many ways,

not the least of which was

challenging me to undertake this research,

and to those other women in my past

who nurtured my learning:

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Abstract

TRADITIONAL MAORI DRESS:

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This thesis examines evidence of traditional Maori dress from the mid-seventeenth century to 1820. It focuses on ephemeral and perishable elements of dress which previous research appears to have forgotten, overlooked or dismissed: hairstyle, head adornment, the use of bird and animal skins, and a former method of wearing cloaks.

Twentieth century perceptions of traditional Maori dress were mainly derived from selected images published soon after the voyages of Captain Cook. Other available graphic evidence was deemed unreliable because of the perceived influence of late eighteenth century artistic practices. However, this research validates the work of contemporary graphic artists and establishes that many early European images of Maori, previously un-researched, offer a valuable and largely reliable source of ethnological data. The thesis uses multidisciplinary analysis to re-examine not only the graphic evidence but traditional, textual, and material sources, and brings to bear specialist knowledge of the construction of dress and related technology. The research seeks to employ an holistic perspective and to analyse dress in its cultural context to understand its significance more completely.

The synthesis of these forms of evidence and the introduction of empirical procedures has elicited new information and ascertains that traditional Maori dress was more varied and more complex than formerly perceived.

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Note on the text

This thesis uses evidence from disparate sources. Traditional evidence has come from translated Maori and Moriori stories, while documentary evidence is taken from translated Dutch, French, and Russian texts, as well as eighteenth century English. The writer does not claim such language expertise and has not translated this material herself. Rather, she has endeavoured to retrieve Maori terms from their sources, where it seems that the nineteenth century European translation has failed to see any significant differences, (such as in the names of hairstyles); and she has footnoted phrases in their original language, for the reader who seeks to verify the accuracy (or otherwise) of the translation.

Names are given as they are found in their original source. Maori terminology is used throughout the work where it clarifies understanding. For example, the term 'raranga' conveys exactly the technique of Maori construction using flat strips of leaf material, for which there is no adequate English equivalent. In contrast, the European terms employed by some researchers in the past can be misleading; plaiting, braiding, finger weaving, weaving can all be interpreted in different ways.

Changes in language use call for further clarification. The manipulation of long and short vowels in Maori have been recognised in different ways, at different times. Early writers of text incorporating Maori words knew how the words should be pronounced and did not use any additional aids. For a period in the twentieth century, long vowels were indicated by being doubled in text, later this was discontinued and the macron was adopted to indicate the long vowel sound. All three forms are found in this research, as reference or quotation, according to their original source; but as the thesis does not use late twentieth century texts, macrons are not used in general writing.

Organisation of the text

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CHAPTER 1 INTRODUCTION

SECTION A: Establishing a baseline

The conventional twentieth century view of 'traditional' Maori dress can be identified as a European construct. Its iconography is static: a figure, predominantly male, his face resplendent with moko (tattoo), adorned with pendants of bone or green-stone, his hair smoothed into a tight, tidy topknot dressed with feathers or a heru (Maori comb), his torso enveloped in a large ornamented cloak.¹ These concepts come from the evidence of drawings, journals and traded articles of eighteenth and early nineteenth-century expeditions to New Zealand. Such imagery has been widely dispersed through the publication of subsequent engravings, and commonly accepted by Maori and non-Maori ethnologists alike. This representation is not only inert; it also depersonalises the elements of dress. In contrast, the narrative of oral tradition presents Maori vitality: a Ngati-Whare story tells that when Whare-pakau sought to identify his Arawa enemy Ihu-rakau, he asked, 'How shall I recognise Ihu-rakau?' The reply was 'You cannot mistake him. His hair is dressed in three tufts, his cape is a mahiti, his weapon a hoeroa.'² The hairstyle, clothing and weapon are marks of individual identification in a strong, dynamic society. This thesis seeks to retain this personal individuality as it re-examines evidence of traditional Maori dress from the period preceding the first European contact, to the last major exploratory expedition in 1820. It differs from previous studies in attempting to recover evidently forgotten ephemeral and perishable elements of dress, and to preserve them within their cultural context. The research is distinct not only in its focus and timeframe but also in its use of two major additional sources of evidence: oral tradition and early European graphic arts. All of the evidence has existed for more than a hundred years but previously its various parts have either been considered in isolation or even completely overlooked. In this dissertation, previously neglected material is examined, and the data, methods, and conclusions of prior research are reviewed, replicated or adapted. This provides new information, and fresh insight into and clarification of current interpretations of existing information. Divergent forms of evidence are synthesised and empirical procedures introduced to test the deductions. This multidisciplinary approach challenges the existing stereotype by

¹ Refer Current popular perceptions of dress, p. 8.

² Best, Elsdon, 1925. *Tuhoe, the children of the mist : a sketch of the origin, history, myths and beliefs of the Tuhoe tribe of the Maori of New Zealand, with some account of other early tribes of the Bay of Plenty district, in 2 Volumes*. Board of Maori Ethnological Research, Wellington, Vol. 1, p. 141. The mahiti is a type of dog skin cloak, the hoeroa, a specific whalebone weapon.

producing a range of forgotten elements. It establishes that prior to 1820, traditional Maori dress was more heterogeneous and complex than previously understood and that the conventional perception is an over-simplification.

The heterogeneous nature of dress was subject of an encyclopaedia entry published c. 1930, entitled 'Nacktheit', or 'Nakedness',³ which sought to establish a fundamental rationale for humankind's construction of dress. Professor F. Pfister listed five reasons explaining human adoption of clothing and ornamentation — both permanent and non-permanent — in twenty-first century terms 'dress'. The rationale was:

1. Clothing invented as a protection against physical elements, especially cold.
2. Clothing invented for social reasons, to distinguish members of a group or class.
3. Clothing invented for moral purposes.
4. Clothing and ornamentation invented for aesthetic-sexual appeal.
5. Clothing seen as apotropaic, averting evil magic and hostile spirits while conserving and containing one's personal power.

These applications can be seen in traditional Maori dress. The need for effective clothing, such as rain capes for protection from the colder elements, would have quickly been evident to early Polynesians arriving from tropical climates to the temperate zone of New Zealand. The use of distinguishing dress such as dogskin cloaks and elaborate combs facilitated identification of chiefly members of the hierarchical structure as it evolved in New Zealand. Moral codes of modesty were maintained in the penis cords⁴ and seaweed maro observed by members of Cook's expeditions. Traditions confirm individuals carefully creating their appearance, while others recount deliberate acts of enticement, showing that Maori were no different from other societies in seeking to attract members of the opposite sex.⁵ Finally, while the apotropaic nature of Maori dress was not seen specifically as averting evil magic and hostile spirits, a re-examination of evidence shows that items of dress did contain the personal power of an individual.

³ Professor F. Pfister, 'Nacktheit', or 'Nakedness', in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie*, xvi, 2 (1935), 1541-9; quoted in Charles Seltman, 1957. *Women in Antiquity*, Pan Books Ltd., London. pp. 28-30.

⁴ Biggs, Bruce, 1960. *Maori Marriage: an essay in reconstruction*. Avery Press, New Plymouth, for The Polynesian Society Incorporated, Wellington. p. 15. According to Biggs, the cord was tied round the foreskin to prevent exposure of the *glans*, and avoid the subsequent ridicule and insult that would accompany such exposure (*tehe*). Conversely, however, retraction of the prepuce and exposure of the usually concealed *glans* was an obligatory part of protective rites against witchcraft. p. 20.

STUDY OF DRESS

The practice of research into dress has changed over the past 100 years. Its study originated in the newly developing sciences of human behaviour during the latter half of the nineteenth century.⁶ Initially, however, the full significance of dress was not acknowledged. Studies were frequently undertaken with the primary motive of providing evidence for some other major interest,⁷ and often subject to cultural bias.⁸ Early research often extricated items of dress from their cultural context in order to examine them. A practice of classifying the elements of dress into separate categories of clothing and ornament was introduced in 1891 and maintained into the early 1960s.⁹ It was within these perimeters that previous work on ancient or indigenous dress was produced, but this restrictive methodology failed to realise the potential importance of the topic as a field of research.

⁵ For example, Tamure instructs his wife to miro (ply) flax fibres on her leg in the view of an old tohunga called Mania-tiemi, in order to beguile the elderly man and obtain an incantation from him. J. White, 1888.. *AMH*, George Didsbury, Government Printer, Wellington. Vol. 4, p. 93.

⁶ Eicher, J.B., and M.E. Roach Higgins, 1992. 'Describing and Classifying Dress: Implications for the Study of Gender', in R. Barnes and J.B. Eicher (eds.), *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*, Berg Publishers, New York and Oxford, pp. 8-9. See also Margaret Ehrenberg, 1989. *Women in Prehistory*, University of Oklahoma Press, Norman, p.14.

⁷ Darwin initially proposed that it was an inherent characteristic of women to pay more attention to dress than did men (Charles Darwin, 1859, *Origin of Species*), but in later writing he ascribed the development of clothing, regardless of gender, to a broad likeness of thought in 'man', (Darwin, 1871, *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex*). Tylor supported his theory of cultural survivals with parallels of historical changes in the form of dress, (Sir Edward Tylor, 1871, *Primitive Culture*). Morgan recognised seven stages of social evolution marked by the development of clothing that began with naked savages and was completed with civilised human beings in woven apparel, (Lewis Morgan, 1877, *Ancient Society*). Spencer endorsed his evolutionist perspective by using a concentrated interest on types of clothing as a means of separating perceived primitive peoples from those deemed more highly socially evolved, nineteenth century western Europeans, (Herbert Spencer, 1879, *The Principles of Sociology*). However, Spencer also recognised that different codes of dress are able to direct personal interactive behaviour, and that specific clothing of men in particular could influence social response in terms of authority and deference. Westermarck focussed his interest on the use of self-adornment by 'primitive' people as a means of enhancing their 'sexual attractiveness,' (Edward Westermarck, 1891, *History of Human Marriage*). In his theory of conspicuous waste, Veblen interpreted the dress of women as an expression of the wealth and power of their menfolk, (T. Veblen, 1899, *The Theory of the Leisure Class*).

⁸ Scholars of the day were invariably male, European or American, and predominantly educated in classics and history. They were often privileged members of a patriarchal, predominantly Christian society, confident in their perceived supremacy of white, Western civilisation. Issues of dress were a very minor aspect of early archaeological, sociological and anthropological study, generally introduced as secondary evidence for a specific argument. Consequently these scholars wrote without making any specialised study of costume as such and without comparison of other text or pictorial evidence, (Francois Boucher, 1966, *20,000 Years of Fashion: The History of Costume and Personal Adornment*. Harry N. Abrams, Incorporated, New York, p. 5.) Nineteenth- and twentieth-century archaeologists explained their finds by generating single hypotheses, (Irving Rouse, 1986, *Migrations in Prehistory: Inferring Population Movement from Cultural Remains*, Yale University Press, New Haven and London, p. 16.)

⁹ Fieldwork guidelines for systems of classification and terminology for the description of dress were published by the Royal Anthropological Institute in *Notes and Queries in Anthropology* (1951) and by G.P.Murdock in *Outline of Cultural Materials* (1961). Both of these works maintained the categories of clothing and ornament that were developed by Westermarck in 1891.

Although the study of dress in its own right is a comparatively recent occurrence,¹⁰ the importance of dress as a cultural phenomenon has been established. Ruth Barnes and Joanne Eicher have led this field in exploring the diversity and complexity that comprises dress:

Archaeological evidence shows humans add clothing, paint or jewellery, or even alter parts of their bodies to make changes to their appearances. Some form of modification or addition is generally required "as an emblem of the person as a social being. Textiles or skins as dress may be fundamentally protective, but they also have social meaning. Decorative ornaments that are added to the body ... or markings imposed ... show a person's position within the society. A cultural identity is thus established before verbal interaction even transmits whether such a verbal exchange is possible or desirable."¹¹

Dress can therefore be seen as defining individual identity geographically and historically, as well as linking the individual to a specific community. It simultaneously includes and excludes, differentiating the individual from all others; it indicates the general social position of an individual within the group, and may indicate changes in prestige and social position, age, social or spiritual power.

Dress is a means of symbolising economic power because textiles and jewellery (or other appropriate ornament) 'can acquire great value as expressions of personal or communal well-being.'¹² The logic of clothing therefore offers both a way of understanding and a means of studying the social transformations within a culture. From this perspective, the intricacies of material culture and social behaviour are inextricably linked.¹³

PREVIOUS STUDY OF MAORI DRESS

No major research of traditional Maori dress has been undertaken for more than thirty years. Prior research is limited to three principal figures, H. Ling Roth, Sir Peter Buck (Te Rangi Hiroa), and Sydney M. Mead, of whom the latter two were Maori. Some additional material is contained in the writings of earlier European ethnologists Elsdon Best, Augustus Hamilton, Edward Tregear and others. All of these individuals were male, ranging from academics to amateur enthusiasts, some

¹⁰ The latter decades of the twentieth century have seen a growing body of female scholarship studying the role of women in differing cultures and identifying their production of clothing and textiles as an important contribution within many social economies. However, in the field of pre-historic textiles, scarcity of archaeological evidence, coupled with its highly fragile nature and the requirement of appropriate textile technological knowledge, has restricted scholarship. The major work in this domain is led by Elizabeth Barber with *Prehistoric Textiles: the Development of Cloth in the Neolithic and Bronze Ages* (1991), and *Women's Work: the first Twenty Thousand Years: Women, Cloth and Society in Early Times* (1994).

¹¹ Barnes, Ruth, and Joanne B. Eicher, (eds.) 1992. *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*. Berg Publishers, New York and Oxford, p. 1.

¹² Barnes and Eicher, 1992. pp. 1-7.

¹³ Roche, D., 1989. *La Culture des apparences*, (Librarie Artheme Fayard) translated by Jean Birrell as *The Culture of Clothing : Dress and Fashion in the 'Ancien Regime'*. Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 4.

with knowledge of weaving techniques, but generally all without specialised training in clothing or textiles, or other components of dress.

Herbert Ling Roth, one-time curator of the Bankfield Museum in Halifax, England, had a strong interest in material culture, and in particular, handmade textiles. His work, *The Maori Mantle: with over 250 line Illustrations and Diagrams and 22 Collotype Plates and some Comparative Notes on N.W. American Twined Work* (1923), is primarily a catalogue, valuable for its detailed study of pre- and early-contact Maori garments held in British museums. However, as pointed out by Buck and Mead, without field study and with use of differing terminologies, Roth's conception of how Maori garments were woven (that is, often sideways, and from hem to neck) led to some incorrect assumptions and unnecessary complications.¹⁴

Sir Peter Buck made two important contributions. His first major volume, *The Evolution of Maori Clothing* (1926),¹⁵ was compiled from material which he had previously published in *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*. Much of his extensive research is a technological study that relates the development of Maori garments to the associated crafts of plaiting, weaving, twining and netting, and connects them to their Polynesian origins and correlated garments. In his second relevant work, *The Coming of the Maori* (1949),¹⁶ Buck devotes two chapters to elements of dress. Chapter 5 focuses on 'Clothing', and discusses varieties of garment and changes in techniques of manufacture, while Chapter 12 deals with 'Personal Decoration and Ornaments' and identifies a range of hair, ear and breast ornaments. Buck's work is useful because the links that he continued to establish between Maori and Polynesian practices help the reader to see Maori custom as part of a wider perspective.

In 1969 S.M. Mead published *Traditional Maori Clothing: A Study of Technological and Functional Change*, developed from his MA thesis. Considered a 'forerunner' in its time,¹⁷ Mead's work employed a four-tiered chronology of Maori development and introduced a westernised taxonomic system of garment classification which has remained unchallenged for thirty years. His research made use of diverse sources of evidence. These included some archaeological sources, and some minor use of

¹⁴ P.H. Buck, 1924, in review of *The Maori Mantle* in *JPS*, Vol. 33, pp 69-77. S.M. Mead, 1969, *Traditional Maori Clothing: A Study of Technological and Functional Change*. Reed, Wellington, Auckland, pp. 53, 56.

¹⁵ Buck, P.H., 1926. *The Evolution of Maori Clothing*. Thomas Avery & Sons, New Plymouth.

¹⁶ Buck, Sir Peter, Te Rangi Hiroa, 1949. *The Coming of the Maori*. Maori Purposes Fund Board. Whitcoulls Ltd., Christchurch.

¹⁷ Foreword, E.S. Dodge, Peabody Museum of Salem, Massachusetts, in Mead, 1969.

traditional Maori chants, but Mead substantiated his evidence predominantly through the use of written descriptions, drawings, illustrations and paintings, in addition to study of material from museum collections. He cited the graphic artists and writers from whom he had drawn the major evidence of his Classic Maori Period (*circa* 1650-1800 AD) as the following: Cook, Banks, Monkhouse, Parkinson and Spöring from Cook's first voyage in 1769; Bayly, Wales, Forster and Hodges from Cook's second voyage in 1773; Edgar and Webber from Cook's third voyage in 1777; Monneron and L'Horne of M. de Surville's voyage in 1769; Roux, Du Clesmeur and Crozet of Marion du Fresne's voyage in 1772; and Lieutenant-Governor King in 1793.¹⁸ However, although Mead used graphic evidence in support of his argument, he did not differentiate between primary and secondary graphic sources.

Mead also gave detailed information on the materials, techniques, and decorative preferences used in the manufacture of Maori clothing. He discussed the role of ritual in the production of traditional textiles, and examined changes in technology, value and fashion. He explored the range of functions served by clothing from symbolic to utilitarian, up to ceremonial costume of the twentieth century. Where former names of garments or styles are no longer known, Mead endeavoured to clarify understanding with the introduction of constructed Maori terminology.¹⁹

Mead's work has proven to be a major resource for the student of traditional Maori clothing and some of his terminology is used in this research to identify certain types of garments.

However, while Mead's study covered an extensive period of change and challenge for Maori, it does not reach as far back in history as it might. Although he made use of some ancient waiata (songs) and chants, he looked at items of the Classic Maori Period in isolation from their cultural context. For Mead, the indisputable historical origin of his study of traditional Maori clothing was the arrival of the first expedition of Captain James Cook in 1769;²⁰ he dismissed Tasman's description of clothing as being 'so sketchy that it provides little worthwhile information.'²¹ In addition, some of Mead's interpretations of evidence from Cook's voyages are open to challenge; and he failed to offer any explanation of the soft cloth garment shown by Parkinson at

¹⁸ Mead, 1969, p. 17.

¹⁹ Mead, 1969, p. 51, n.

²⁰ Mead, 1969, p. 17. Thus, the historical framework of Mead's chronological study commenced in the latter part of the Classical Maori Period (or that named by Firth as Initial Contact). It extended through Mead's Transitional Maori Period (combining both the Early European Phase and the Later European Phase of archaeological terminology of Golsen and Green) to conclude at the end of the nineteenth century.

²¹ Mead, 1969, p. 17.

Queen Charlotte Sound. These limitations suggested that a re-examination of the evidence was timely.

Although there was no further major investigation of Maori dress in the latter decades of the twentieth century, interest in Maori textiles has continued to generate research. Weaving was the topic of the MA thesis of Aroha Yates Smith; however, that it is written in Maori has made it less accessible to potential researchers, whether national or international. Mick Pendergrast has provided useful resources: *Feathers and Fibre: a Survey of Traditional and Contemporary Maori Craft* (1984); *Te Aho Tapu: the Sacred Thread* (1987) and *Kakahu: Maori cloaks* (1997). These works incorporate a combination of technological detail with items of sociological interest. Noted Maori weavers have contributed works such as *Weaving a Kakahu*²² by Diggeress Te Kawana, *Maori Weaving*²³ by Erenora Puketapu-Hetet and *The Art of Piupiu Making*²⁴ by Ngapare Hopa. These latter publications concentrate on sharing the surviving traditional techniques of producing textiles rather than on establishing how elements of dress were incorporated to create one's appearance.

SECTION B: Identifying the issues

There are a number of problematic areas in this study. First, the images selected for publication in the nineteenth century furnished an incomplete picture of traditional Maori dress which has influenced perceptions to the current day. Second, in the current popular perception traditional dress is often seen as static; such perceptions frequently consist of a conflation of ideas that include strong influences from the twentieth century. Third, there have been important changes in the use of language pertaining to the study of dress in the latter part of the twentieth century; and finally, in the research of indigenous dress of preliterate cultures, many of the usual sources of evidence are not available.

SELECTED IMAGES GIVE INCOMPLETE PICTURE

An examination of the first published and best known graphic evidence of traditional Maori dress shows that the images are aggregations of elements selected from an extensive range of ethnological data. These data are found initially in journal records from the three expeditions of Captain Cook, as well as published drawings

²² Te Kanawa, Diggeress, 1992. *Weaving a Kakahu*. Bridget Williams Books Limited in association with Aotearoa Moananui a Kiwa Weavers, Wellington.

²³ Puketapu-Hetet, Erenora, 1989. *Maori Weaving*. Pitman Publishing, Auckland.

²⁴ Hopa, Ngapare, 1971. *The Art of Piupiu Making*. A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington.

that were developed from work of his graphic artists, and items of material culture that were traded at the same time. There are serious anomalies in the early published data. While certain graphic images were selected for reproduction in eighteenth century publications of Cook's voyages, they were chosen for the exotic value they contributed to the imagery of the 'noble savage' notions of that age.²⁵ Consequently, a number of other images were passed over. This overlooked material has since been published and discloses crucial images that were ignored. They show eighteenth century Maori wearing items of apparel or adornment which have apparently been forgotten, and for which no satisfactory explanation has been offered, clearly indicating the need for a re-examination of this graphic evidence.

CURRENT POPULAR PERCEPTIONS OF DRESS

Traditional Maori dress has often been perceived as being static. This is despite some eighteenth century imagery having been supplanted and other imagery influenced by the writings and images of Augustus Earle in 1824, and additionally 'enhanced' by the work of George French Angas in 1847. But these two post-European-contact artists of the nineteenth century were recording the traditional appearance of Maori from their own, later period. Maori dress had undergone some changes in the intervening 50 years. Nonetheless, a survey has shown that in public perception the imagery from all graphic sources tends to be conflated, and is further influenced by both television portrayals and mid-twentieth century concert-party costume.

A sample of 40 university students undertaking papers related to Maori culture was surveyed in 2000 and 2001. They were asked to complete a questionnaire that required them to draw their perceptions of Maori dress at the beginning of European contact on an outlined figure (Figure 1.1). Of the 40 completed forms, 37 showed a male figure; only three showed female.²⁶ Twenty-nine of the 37 male forms had rounded 'bun' shaped topknots, and two had long loose hair; the remaining six had short hair; six wore heru and feathers, five wore heru alone, while five wore a single feather, eight had two feathers and three wore triple feathers. All but six figures had facial moko, although on two, the moko was limited to the area of the chin, and only one showed tattooing on the thigh. With one exception, all specified that their male

²⁵Bernard Smith, 1985. *European Vision and the South Pacific*. Second edition. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, pp. 5-6, 27-28. See also Gordon H. Brown 1988. *Visions of New Zealand: Artists in a New Land*, David Bateman Ltd., Auckland, pp. 16-17 for a discussion on the use of imagery from Cook's voyages.

²⁶No details were recorded about the gender of participants, and none appeared to have been informed by costume of kapahaka (Maori song and dance) performers.

figure would have no beard. Nine figures wore some form of ear pendant while 24 wore neck pendants. Eighteen figures wore cloaks, five wore capes, six wore some form of maro, while 25 wore other waist garments, often piupiu (a skirt made of

Survey

This is a voluntary and anonymous survey requesting your help to discover what people perceive as 'traditional Maori dress'. It should only take 2 minutes.

Please sketch on the outlined figure the articles that you believe would be part of the 'dress' of a Maori at the beginning of European contact.

Please consider:

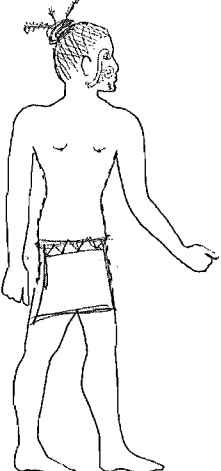
- hair-style and head-dress,
- face or body decoration,
- articles of personal adornment,
- garment(s) etc. that you wish to include.

Do you see the traditional figure as male or female?
(Please tick appropriate box) M ☒ F ☐

If male, does he have a beard?
Yes ☐ No ☒

Where do you think your perceptions have come from?

Children's books ☐
Academic books ☐
School ☒
Television ☒
Movies ☒
Other.....



(Figure is styled on ancient Egyptian relief, to show front or back upper torso, profile head and legs.)

The results of this survey are intended for inclusion in P. Wallace's thesis on Traditional Maori Dress.

For your assistance in participating,

Thank you

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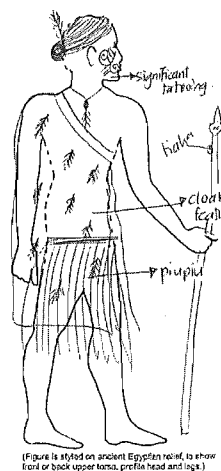
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Do you see the traditional figure as male or female?
(Please tick appropriate box) M ☐ F ☒

If male, does he have a beard?
Yes ☐ No ☒

Where do you think your perceptions have come from?

Children's books ☒
Academic books ☒
School ☐
Television ☐
Movies ☒
Other.....



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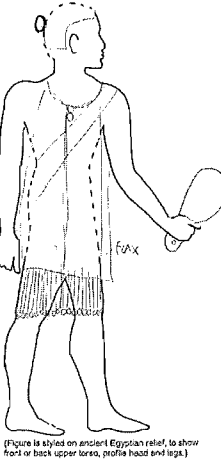
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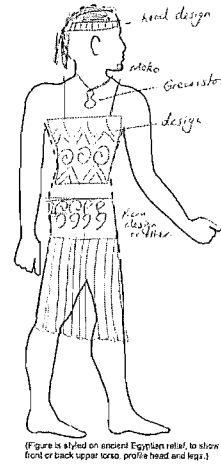
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- garment(s) etc. that you wish to include.

Do you see the traditional figure as male or female?
(Please tick appropriate box) M ☐ F ☒

If male, does he have a beard?
Yes ☐ No ☒

Where do you think your perceptions have come from?

Children's books ☐
Academic books ☒
School ☒
Television ☒
Movies ☐
Other.....



(Figure is styled on ancient Egyptian relief, to show front or back upper torso, profile head and legs.)

The results of this survey are intended for inclusion in P. Wallace's thesis on Traditional Maori Dress.

For your assistance in participating,

Thank you

Figure 1.1 Examples of completed survey forms.

dried, rolled flax-leaves), one of which was labelled as a 'grass skirt'. Four figures wore a bandolier, 11 were shown holding a weapon, while 10 wore sandals. Of the female figures all three were given medium length loose hair and chin moko. One had a feather and heru, neck and ear pendants, a weapon, large cloak and sandals; while the other two wore headbands, taniko-like woven bodices and piupiu that reached below the knees. One had armband ornamentation and poi (balls held by strings and twirled;) the other wore a neck pendant. Most students indicated they had gathered their impressions from academic and art books (28), children's books (15), schooling (14), television (21), film (11), as well as tourism information; three said they had learned from marae (tribal base) or whanau (family group). This survey highlighted how little is known about traditional Maori dress, not just by general public, but by individuals involved in programs focussed on traditional Maori culture.²⁷

CHANGES IN TERMINOLOGY

Present-day studies of dress demand precise terminology that includes modifications and supplements to the body.²⁸ For more than 70 years, since its inception in 1891, the practice of categorising items as either 'clothing' or 'adornment' (or 'ornament') dominated the classification of dress. However, a growing perception that these terms excluded a large part of dress led to a search for more accurately inclusive word choices. The increasing attention given to all aspects of dress, incorporating fashion, clothing, costume and personal ornament, demonstrated the ambiguity and inconsistency of existing terminology. Words such as clothing, apparel, attire and garb refer only to forms of body covering.

Although some scholars use clothing, dress, and fashion interchangeably, these terms are not synonymous. First, clothing and dress are not synonymous because a focus on clothing ignores body modifications as a part of dress. Second, fashion and dress are not synonyms because fashion can be found in many arenas of life, not just clothing and body adornment. Third, clothing and fashion are not synonyms because not all clothing is fashionable dress.²⁹

Other terminology proves unsatisfactory. The phrase 'physical appearance' can be used to denote both physical attributes, as well as a comprehensive impression of body and clothing, with additions and modifications. 'Costume' has often been

²⁷ The students were from the following courses: Maori 214: Traditional Maori Studies; Maori 317 : Nineteenth Century Maori Thought; and Art History 401 : Te Mahi Taonga.

²⁸ Refer J.B. Eicher and M.E. Roach-Higgins, 1992. 'Describing and Classifying Dress: Implications for the Study of Gender', in R. Barnes and J.B. Eicher (eds.), *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*. See also M.E. Roach-Higgins and J.B. Eicher, 1992. 'Dress and Identity', in *Clothing and Textile Research Journal*, Vol.10, No.4, pp. 1-8. Contemporary study is extended beyond apparel to include observation of body and hair conformation, texture and colour, scent and sound.

compartmentalised as being, for example, for ritual or ceremonial use, or as historical or period style, or as native costume, in a manner that can trivialise customary dress as quaint or picturesque. Such arbitrary compartmentalisation takes dress out of context. 'Fashion' is perceived by some to be non-existent in indigenous or peasant cultures or amongst poor or rural communities,³⁰ whereas in fact, gradual change is not the same as no change. Ethnic dress is not static,³¹ and dress which ceases to evolve indicates a culture which has ceased to evolve.

The understanding of the vitality of dress is critical in this research; so too is the role of tradition. The use of the terms 'tradition' and 'traditional' have been challenged in some disciplines by controversy over the phenomenon of change or the apparent lack of change.³²

The topic of tradition itself is currently undergoing re-evaluation. In ethnographic research it has come to mean an item or action inherited intact from the past....³³

In relation to traditional dress, the term has often been used to indicate lack of change. In other instances, so-called traditional dress has been manipulated for tourist appeal, as for example in the case of the Scottish kilt. However, 'tradition' is defined by the *Oxford English Dictionary* as:

The action of transmitting or 'handing down', or fact of being handed down, from one to another, or from generation to generation; transmission of statements, beliefs, rules, customs, or the like, esp. by word of mouth or by practice without writing.³⁴

The definition carries no implication of the data being impervious to change. There is no alternative word that conveys the same sense of inherited cultural data passing through generations of related peoples. It is therefore reclaimed for use in this research.

The need to clarify the use of the word 'tradition' and its cognates is paralleled in the need for concise terminology in the discussion of 'dress'. Cultural bias or unsound word choice may produce evaluative labelling. Classifying an aspect or type of dress as ornament, adornment or decoration can be seen as making a value judgement that indicates a perceived aesthetically pleasing quality. Similarly, describing an element of dress as a mutilation or deformation suggests an external

²⁹ Eicher, Joanne B., and Barbara Sumberg, 'World Fashion, Ethnic, and National Dress' in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, J. Eicher (ed.) 1995. Berg Publishers Limited, Oxford. pp. 295-306.

³⁰ Roche, 1996, p.4.

³¹ Eicher, Joanne B., (ed.) 1995. *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, pp. 1-3.

³² Eicher and Sumberg, 1995. p. 299.

³³ Seng, Yvonne J., and Betty Wass, 'Traditional Palestinian Wedding Dress as a Symbol of Nationalism' in *Dress and Ethnicity: Change Across Space and Time*, J. Eicher (ed.) 1995, Berg Publishers Limited, Oxford. pp. 227-254.

³⁴ OED, 1993. CD-Rom.

judgement that it is 'nonacceptable.' Such terms are seen as value-laden and ambiguous.³⁵

Ongoing research recognises that headdress, hairstyle, body painting, cicatrice and tattoo, as well as held objects, are all elements of an individual's dress.

Consequently, the dressed person is now seen as a *gestalt* including body, all direct modifications of the body itself, and all three-dimensional supplements added to it.³⁶

This fuller understanding of how the human body is presented and the individual appearance created, has highlighted the need to standardise classification and terminology.

In response to this need, Eicher and Roach-Higgins produced their own 'copyright, bias and value free' procedure: 'Classification System for Types of Dress and Their Properties'.³⁷ While their system of classification goes beyond the requirements of this thesis, it assists clarification of the boundaries of the research. For the purpose of this study, dress is accepted as a gender-neutral term and defined as the aggregate of body modifications and supplements worn or carried by an individual at any specific time. A basic classification of the elements of Maori dress within this framework is shown below in a whakapapa chart format (Figure 1.2).

However, the focus of this research is on forgotten ephemeral elements and perishable materials of dress that were part of pre 1820 practice; it includes hairstyle, hair ornaments, and body supplements of clothing in the form of garments of fur or feathers, and a wrapped garment. It does not include the use of oil or ochre, nor the use of ephemeral ear, neck or arm ornaments. While the use of oil and ochre is frequently recorded, there is little documentation about the designs and techniques employed, and there is no clear graphic or material evidence. Similarly, although ephemera ranging from seahorse to birds or their skin complete with down, or pieces of aute (bark cloth), were recorded as providing ear adornment; and other items ranging from shell or seed necklaces to pendants of perfumed sachets are documented as neck adornment, there is, as yet, little available graphic or material

³⁵ Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1992. 'Definition and Classification of Dress: Implications for Analysis of Gender Roles' p.14. 'Describing and Classifying Dress: Implications for the Study of Gender', in R. Barnes and J.B. Eicher (eds.), *Dress and Gender: Making and Meaning*. Berg Publishers, New York and Oxford, p. 14.

³⁶ Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1992, p.13.

³⁷ Eicher and Roach-Higgins, 1992, pp. 18-19. This includes body modifications of hair, skin, nails, muscular/skeletal system, teeth and breath; body supplements of enclosures, attachments, or attachments to enclosures and hand-held objects; properties of the body modifications and supplements, which may be described in terms of colour, volume and proportion, shape and structure, surface design, texture, odour, taste and sound.

evidence. Evidence of arm or leg ornaments is equally scarce. The permanent skin modification of Maori, the moko, is such a specialised subject that it is not included in this study other than in a general manner. Likewise, supplements of bone or wood are considered, like pounamu (greenstone), to be lasting materials. As such they present evidence for major study of their own, and are therefore excluded from this research.

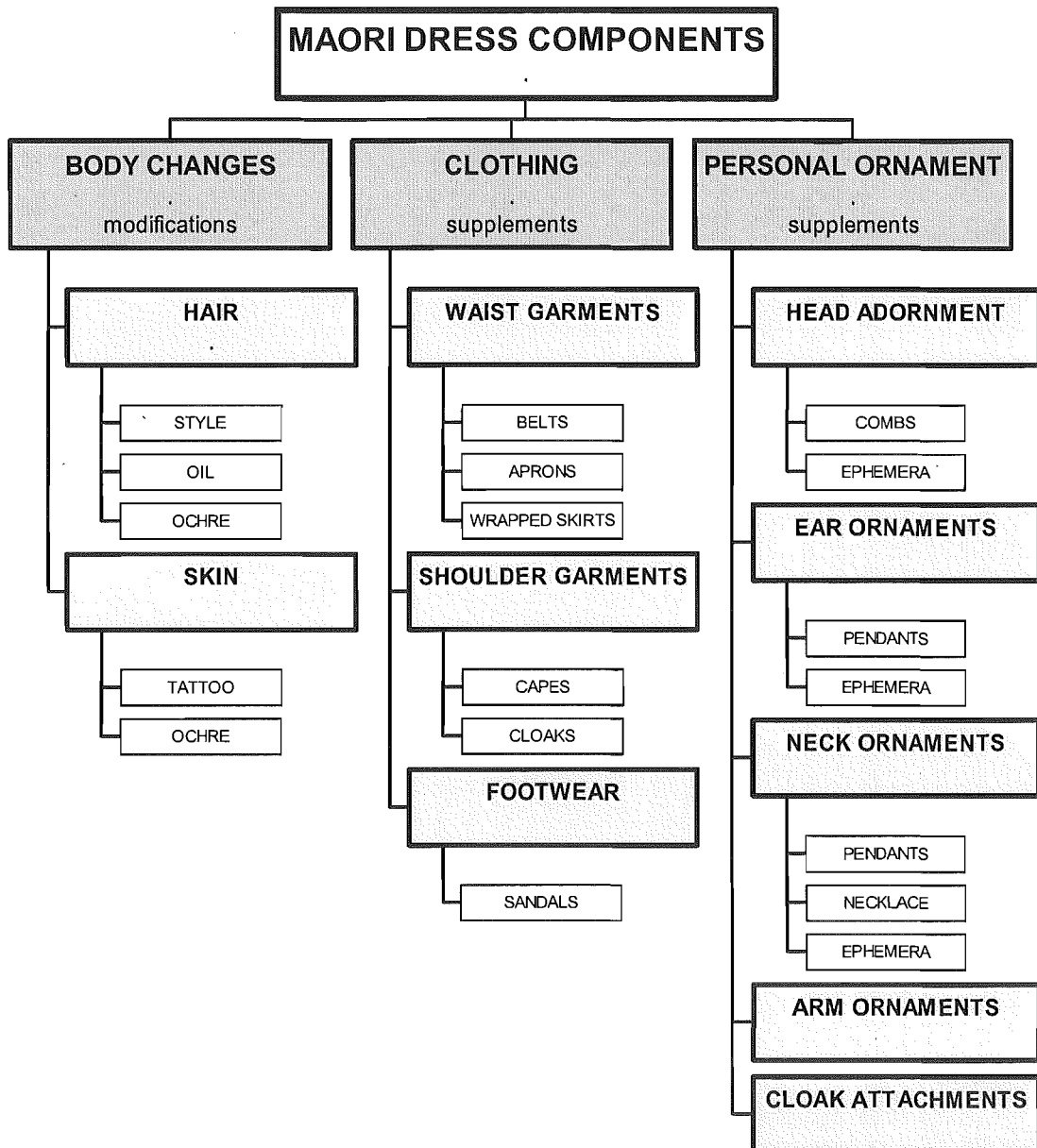


Figure 1.2 Components of traditional Maori dress.

SOURCES OF EVIDENCE

In any major study of dress, the original and direct source of evidence comes from the examination of items of apparel that have escaped the ravages of time and decay. Standard academic procedure would seek supplementary evidence from written and iconographic material such as engravings, sculpture, miniatures, painting, coins, frescoes, tapestries, and various forms of photography, despite the limitations of each of these sources of data. This methodology is problematic in this context as it relies upon the culture under study having such resources available. Like many other autochthonous cultures, traditional Maori did not, thereby necessitating an alternative process. Consequently this research has developed an eclectic approach to allow for the examination of disparate sources of evidence (of which none is complete in itself) from divergent periods of time. Whereas historians rely heavily on written material, using artefacts as a secondary source of information, those studying preliterate peoples must deduce possibilities from cultural remains, and use any secondary evidence as supplementary.³⁸ The present research falls between these two methodologies because there is no single identifiable primary source, nor is one precise era defined. Rather, the sum of evidence comprises a meagre range of surviving artefacts of material culture, combined with the 'insider' information of collected oral tradition, which is not confined by western conventional timeframes, and a variety of 'outsider' written and graphic observations of early European explorers and later ethnologists which span a period of almost 300 years. Despite this assortment, at times there is so little data available that it is necessary to argue from a single fragment of evidence and some conclusions are, of necessity, speculative. While the aggregation of these sources might suggest a certain chronological framework, the task of organising the material is highly complex. Oral tradition extends across a broad time span; some traditional Maori evidence displays its Polynesian origins, while some contains elements of local tribal histories. Similarly, but to a lesser degree, Maori material culture also covers an extension of time, which is further complicated by the differing levels of cultural practice present throughout the country at any given time.³⁹ The

³⁸ Rouse, Irving, 1986. *Migrations in Prehistory : Inferring Population Movement from Cultural Remains*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, p. 1.

³⁹ 'Archaeologists working in every part of New Zealand have shown that Maori communities lived quite differently at different periods of the pre-contact past, and marked regional variations in tools and weapons, settlement patterns and ways of using resources have been detected in archaeological excavations.' Ann Salmond, 1982. Foreword to *Early Eyewitness Accounts of Maori Life 1: Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769 Under the Command of J.F.M. de Surville*, Transcription and Translation by Isabel Olliver and

combination of these factors necessitates an approach that is at once both synchronic and diachronic.

Oral tradition, gleaned from waiata (song), proverb and legend, provides the primary source of evidence of Maori dress. To this end, the wealth of oral tradition dictated or written by nineteenth-century Maori, and collected and published by Sir George Grey, John White and others is scrutinised for fragments of information about traditional dress. Although these fragments cannot be verified, circumstances dictate they be accepted as they stand to provide an introductory background for subsequent evidence.⁴⁰ Among preliterate peoples, memories were the only repositories of knowledge, skills, and rituals, and the ability to memorize, often after only one hearing, was highly developed.⁴¹ The accurate recall and delivery of genealogical and ritualistic material was a fundamental requirement; commonly, a learned elder would tutor a designated young person to become a repository of sacred and treasured tribal information. In Maori society, the *whare wananga* (house of learning) provided one suitable environment for the transmission of such knowledge;⁴² however, the mythologies and oral histories of tribal ancestors were also treasured and retained by their repetition within wider communities. In the latter half of the twentieth century oral tradition gained increasing scholarly acceptance as an authentic source of indigenous history and cultural practice.⁴³

While the accuracy of details in traditional stories may not have required the same degree of constancy as *whakapapa* (genealogy), the traditionalist viewpoint accepts that legends must contain some reality, and that being grounded in the culture from which they have come, they bring glimpses of factual information from preceding times. Bruce Biggs has argued that:

... while the incidents in a legend may or may not have a basis in fact, the setting of the story will, in the case of material collected before a certain period, reflect conditions, not as they were in the period with which the legend deals, but as they were known to the narrator.⁴⁴

Cheryl Hingley With an Appendix of Charts and Drawings Compiled by Jeremy Spencer. Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust in association with the National Library of New Zealand, Wellington.

⁴⁰ It is pertinent that this type of research, by comparing and contrasting subsequent evidence may be able to provide validation for some evidence of oral tradition.

⁴¹ Simmons, Leo W., 1945. *The Role of the Aged in Primitive Society*. Yale University Press, New Haven, p. 130.

⁴² Best, Elsdon, 1986. *The Maori School of Learning*. Dominion Museum Monograph No 6, V. R. Ward, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand, p. 22. According to Best, unquestioned precision was ensured by the element of danger that always accompanied the possession of highly tapu knowledge. This information was therefore revealed only to individuals of high standing, under strictly controlled conditions, with rituals designed to protect the integrity of the learning and the personal safety of both the *tohunga* instructors and their selected students. See also R. Firth, 1959. *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*. R.E.Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, pp. 271-2.

⁴³ See Bruce Biggs, 1960. *Maori Marriage : an Essay in Reconstruction*. Polynesian Society Maori Monographs, No. 1, The Polynesian Society Incorporated, Wellington, pp. 2-9 for a discussion on the inclusion of traditional evidence in assisting to reconstruct elements of indigenous Maori culture.

⁴⁴ Biggs, 1960. p. 6.

Although this thesis acknowledges that a good story-teller might embellish a narrative, thereby fusing contemporary and traditional details, it also recognises, *pace* Biggs, that the value Maori placed on precise recollection may have prevailed in some circumstances. In either case, the information contributed to the topic of Maori dress is valuable.

Despite the care taken to preserve important information, the use of oral sources is not without problem because language is subject to change: the meanings of old words are lost or may alter over a period of time. In addition, the Maori language engaged a rich use of metaphor, the implications of which are sometimes irretrievable.⁴⁵ Furthermore, the same word may identify dissimilar garments in different localities, while conversely, similar garments can hold regionally divergent names. It is with these reservations in mind that the fragments contained in oral traditions are examined in the context of the relevant element of dress, whether relating to hairstyle or garment. They not only provide information about the particular aspect of dress itself but also indications of social behaviour pertaining to that aspect. Consequently, they offer an insight into, or a challenge to, the understanding of conventionally held beliefs about some items of dress.

While oral tradition has not been previously scrutinised for its contribution to the study of dress, neither has the main body of graphic representations from European voyages up until 1820. Although graphic records of early European exploration have been widely available for examination, in the past the majority of field studies have been neglected. Instead, a range of selected images has been widely accepted without serious analysis of their potential ethnographic significance. In contrast, this research utilizes graphic imagery as a major source of primary evidence by scrutinizing the work of Isaac Gilsemans, Sydney Parkinson, Heindrich Spöring, William Hodges, John Webber and Pavel Mikhaylov in particular. Although their training and their Eurocentric viewpoint have influenced the work these artists produced, it is argued that these have not affected the integrity of the information that they portrayed. The analysis of these images has led to substantial discoveries, the greater proportion of which have occurred as a result of the publication of *The*

⁴⁵ Smith, S.P., 1897. "The Peopling of the North...." Supplement to *JPS* Vol. 6, 1897, pp. 102-106. In his translation of an 'obscure *mata-kite*' Smith acknowledges assistance from Captain Mair in an attempt to get at its meaning, but concedes that it is impossible for members of another generation to render such compositions precisely, due to their use of topical metaphor.

Art of Captain Cook's Voyages. Vols. 1-3. by Rüdiger Joppien and Bernard Smith.⁴⁶

This collection of graphic images of Parkinson, Spöring, Hodges, Webber and others, provided the readily available access that made continual re-examination possible. The merit of the Joppien and Smith reproductions was supported in 1999 by an opportunity to examine original works of Hodges in Melbourne and Canberra.⁴⁷ In comparison, there are no known original images of work attributed to Gilsemans, while those of Mikhaylov are extant but currently difficult to access in Russia. As with traditional evidence, empirical graphic evidence is initially given full credence, to avoid the risk of failing to notice any relevant detail due to preconceived notions of reliability.

Contrary to the prior analysis of images, the documentary journals of early European explorers provide a source of primary evidence that has been examined before. Despite the fact that a European perspective would have influenced their commentary, just as with the graphic artists, the value of these works is ensured by the overriding obligation of the journal keepers to record information in keeping with the basic objectives of their expeditions. However, eighteenth and nineteenth century text may be misconstrued or understanding may have changed. Therefore, the edited, published journals of James Cook, W. B. Monkhouse, S. Parkinson, J. Banks, J. Burney, and W. Anderson are re-examined for their observations of Maori dress and appearance. Likewise, translated publications of the journals of Abel Tasman, J.R. and G. Forster, A. Sparrman and members of the Russian Bellingshausen expedition, F. F. Bellingshausen, N. Gálkin and I. M. Simonov are also explored. Further observations recorded by early travellers, such as John Savage in 1807 and J.L. Nicholas in 1817, have produced more information.

The late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries saw a number of concerted attempts to preserve the remnants of traditional Maori knowledge from further loss. The historically focussed writings of John White,⁴⁸ Edward Tregear, Elsdon Best and others were generally compiled from retrospective interviews with Maori who were separated from the traditional practices they described by two or more generations of intense and rapid change. Much information was lost, but while these

⁴⁶ Joppien, Rüdiger and Bernard Smith, 1985. *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*. Vols. 1-3.. Yale University Press, New Haven and London.

⁴⁷ Their merit was further recognised when examining the major collection of the art of Cook's voyages in the British Library, London 2002.

⁴⁸ White stated: 'To embalm the knowledge ... of a highly developed yet savage race, fast disappearing, has been the object of the writer.' John White, 1874. *Te Rou; or, the Maori at Home. A Tale Exhibiting the Social Life, Manners, Habits, and Customs of the Maori Race in New Zealand Prior to the Introduction of Civilisation Amongst Them*. Sampson Low, Marston, Low, and Searle, London. Preface.

ethnographic records suffer from the Eurocentricism of the writers' period, they are examined to provide secondary sources of evidence that may clarify details arising from primary sources.

Severe inadequacies exist in terms of the age and type of material evidence preserved, and in some cases, the methods of wearing. Universally, comparatively few articles of clothing have survived from before the late seventeenth century. Categories of clothing that have been consciously preserved, Maori and otherwise, tend to be prestigious garments of high quality; as such they give meagre indication of the everyday wear of ordinary people. This was evident among the traded cloaks gathered by members of Cook's expeditions; although the international collections clearly show that attempts were made to obtain a wide range of styles and techniques. This area of the research was greatly assisted by the published work of Adrienne L. Kaeppler, tracing and documenting the whereabouts of Cook collected artefacts.⁴⁹ Other material evidence was located during field work at Auckland, Canterbury, New Plymouth and Otago Museums. Such evidence provided valuable information about textile sources, technical skills and decorative styles, as well as aspirations and creativity of members of Maori society.

Iconographic evidence of traditional carving provides some indication of individual moko and sometimes hairstyle, but the stylistic nature of the art form eliminates most elements of dress, with the exception of weapons. However, images of carved figures gathered during the early European exploratory voyages and held in a number of international museum collections were studied for evidence of hairstyle, as well as pou (post) figures examined during field work in Hawkes Bay, and the Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa. Many of these have incomplete provenance but a minimum age can be reliably established.

CULTURAL PRACTICE

Further complexities in the study of traditional Maori dress arise from aspects of cultural practice. The Maori concept of mana, the particular 'power' that belonged to the chief or other highly born by virtue of his 'divine lineage', and the 'embodiment of

⁴⁹ E.g. Kaeppler, c1978. *"Artificial curiosities": being an exposition of native manufactures collected on the three Pacific voyages of Captain James Cook, R. N., at the Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, January 18, 1978-August 31, 1978, on the occasion of the bicentennial of the European discovery of the Hawaiian Islands by Captain Cook, January 18, 1778.* Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, also Kaeppler, (ed), c1978, with contributions by L. G. Rozina, Karl Henking, Enrico H. Giglioli ; translations by Ella Wiswell, Denzel Carr, Mildred M. Knowlton. *Cook voyage artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence museums.* Bishop Museum Press, Honolulu, Hawaii.

tribal sacredness⁵⁰ was not only evident in the ways chiefly garments might be used but also affected the availability of material evidence. The mana of the individual permeated the article; Blake-Palmer explained what he called the 'mana of clothes':

If a Maori possessed very great mana the utmost precaution had to be taken to protect others from its dangerous influence. Nothing which he had used could be left lying about without risk to others. His discarded clothing was hidden or buried, and even at great personal effort concealed in inaccessible hiding places, as were the remains of his meals...⁵¹

An example of this was noted in the story of a chief who threw a very good cloak down a precipice because it had become too heavy to carry. When asked why he did not leave it suspended from a tree so that another traveller might be able to use it, he replied that his tapu would kill the wearer.⁵²

This concept accounts for Maori not reusing the personal apparel of someone who had died.⁵³ A manuscript documenting the display of a chiefly corpse at Waiomu on the Hauraki Gulf noted that his cloak, musket and other valuables were placed on a fence behind the body, there to remain until they rotted because of their highly tapu state.⁵⁴ Such firmly established and socially recognised taboos demanded unquestioning acceptance by members of the social group.⁵⁵ This cultural constraint preventing the re-use of certain clothing not only precluded the retention of such garments, but has almost certainly reduced opportunity for discourse about them.

Paul Tapsell explains this expression of Maori thought by pointing out that the concept of mana permeates every aspect of tribal existence, and is instilled into objects through their direct association with ancestors. According to Tapsell:

The greater the ancestor who once used the item, the more powerful is the *mana* associated with it....To maintain the *mana* of *taonga* [items of value] demands the complimentary presence of *tapu* *Tapu* ... acts as a social controlling agent preventing an item's *mana*, or power, from being transgressed by the state of *noa* [common, everyday]. The greater the *mana* of a *taonga*, the greater its *tapu*, which demands careful management of the item.⁵⁶

While a scholarly understanding of these inherited concepts falls outside the parameters of this research, it is clear that any study of traditional Maori dress which fails to acknowledge the significance of mana and tapu in relation to elements of

⁵⁰ Gudgeon, W.E., 1905, "Maori Religion" in *JPS*, Vol. 14, pp. 107-30. 1906, "The *Tipua Kura* and other Manifestations of the Spirit World" in *JPS*, Vol. 15, pp. 27-59.

⁵¹ Blake-Palmer, G., 1946. "Some Christian and Moselm Parallels" in *JPS*, Volume 55, Number 4, pp. 263-76.

⁵² Webster, Hutton, 1942. *Taboo: A Sociological Study*, Stanford University Press, California, p. 266.

⁵³ Polack, J. S., 1840. *Manners and customs of the New Zealanders : with notes corroborative of their habits, usages, etc., and remarks to intending emigrants, with numerous cuts drawn on wood*. James Madden, London. Vol. 2, 110f. 230. Although writing in the 1830s, it seems logical that Polack is recording a well established practice.

⁵⁴ Campbell, 1952, in R.S. Oppenheim, 1973. *Maori Death Customs*, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington. p. 107.

⁵⁵ Webster, p. 371.

dress excludes an important factor. The examination of clothing evidence removed from its cultural context would remain superficial and risk failure to recognise important aspects. For this reason oral traditions are retold in some detail rather than reduced to brief quotations or trimmed into detached segments that allow no comparison of the overall depth of detail recorded in the story.

TEXTILE TECHNOLOGY

Knowledge of the technologies used in producing cloth and clothing is an important element of the research; Boucher and Roche see the study of dress as inseparable from that of textiles.⁵⁷ As textiles perish, so do garments; the constant production of new garments ensures the development of skills and the assurance of change. A knowledge of weaving technology assists in the specialized understanding of fibre and fabric properties; this in turn can aid in the identification of materials that have been used.

The study and use of textiles and their properties is a technical field beyond the traditional academic realm, but the practical application of clothing technology introduces a new dimension to this research. Understanding how textiles may be draped or folded to enclose the human body has enabled the development of an empirical process to test the practicalities of hypotheses that arise from the research.

Moreover, the 'act of making dress' includes not only details of the textile or garment construction but also the assembling of the entire personal appearance. Barnes and Eicher believe that in order to understand the role of dress in a given society, 'an analysis of the creative act of making dress is essential'.⁵⁸ It is the synthesis of garment and textile technology required for the 'act of making dress' that leads to the reconstruction of a style of Maori dress now seen only in images.

SECTION C: The process

This thesis integrates evidence from diverse sources to demonstrate that the conventional perception of traditional Maori dress is incomplete. It achieves this by recovering a range of ephemeral and perishable elements, forgotten or overlooked by previous research; elements which confirm that Maori dress, before 1820, was more heterogeneous and complex than formerly understood.

⁵⁶ Tapsell, Paul, 1997. 'The Flight of Pareraututu: an Investigation of *Taonga* from a Tribal Perspective' in *JPS*, 106 (4) 323-374.

⁵⁷ Boucher, 1966, p. 23; Roche, 1996, pp. 7-9.

The research argues that early European images of Maori make a significant contribution to our current knowledge of traditional dress. To accomplish this, Chapter 2 establishes the artistic integrity of seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth century graphic artists travelling around New Zealand shores by studying the objectives of their governing bodies, and by examining the respective levels of their artistic expertise. This validates the subsequent use of their work as authentic sources of ethnological data.

The ensuing Chapters 3 – 6 use a consistent format to recover esoteric elements of dress. They begin by examining traditional evidence for information relating to the specific element under investigation, using both gathered oral sources and later ethnological compilations. Where appropriate sources exist, material evidence is investigated to augment details of, or isolate contradictions to, the traditional evidence. This is followed in turn by examination of early European documentary evidence concurrently with contemporary graphic evidence, commencing with Tasman's 1642 expedition and concluding with Bellingshausen's expedition of 1820. Where possible, empirical procedures are carried out to validate or repudiate the research findings.

The integration of this re-examined evidence in Chapter 3 reveals that both men and women wore a range of hairstyles. A wide variety of style is rediscovered; oral tradition is supported by European documentary and graphic evidence, and the underlying cultural significance of this element of dress is reinforced. Chapter 4 shows that this variety of hairstyle was once dressed with an extensive range of ephemeral ornaments. It attempts to recover some of the various components of head-dress and to regain some insights into traditional practice. A forgotten range and utilization of skins as part of traditional Maori dress is retrieved in Chapter 5. Ideally, this chapter would have been divided into two, one chapter on the use of avian skins and the other on mammal skins. However, due to the ambiguity of terminology — specifically, the word 'huruhuru' meaning both furred and feathered garments — this was impossible, resulting in a very long chapter. This is followed in Chapter 6 by a close examination of the work of four different graphic artists over a period of 135 years, leading to the reconstruction of a forgotten form of Maori dress. Chapter 7 brings the thesis to its conclusion, discusses the implications of the findings and suggests future directions for further research.

⁵⁸ Barnes and Eicher, 1992, p. 4.

CHAPTER 2 VALIDATION OF GRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The sources of evidence being re-examined in this research are fourfold: they include gathered traditional evidence, collected artefacts, early European texts and concurrent graphic evidence from 1642 until 1820. Where this thesis differs markedly from previous research is in its use of contemporary visual images as a primary source of ethnological data. Previous research has overlooked this material; art historians have perceived the influence of classic allusion and noble savagery, deducing the images to be unreliable on that basis.¹ However, close analysis proves that they are reliable. This chapter clarifies the sources of text and establishes the credibility of contemporary graphic images, revealing a previously untapped resource that contributes new information to the existing knowledge of traditional Maori dress.

The textual sources of evidence are for the most part well known. Traditional sources of evidence come from stories and histories that were gathered in New Zealand during the nineteenth century and into the early twentieth century. Material evidence includes archaeological material as well as traded items of material culture and other artefacts collected since the late eighteenth century. The main texts are records from Dutch, British, French and Russian journeys of exploration around New Zealand: translations from the journal of Abel Janzoon Tasman in 1642-3 and the lesser-known Haalbos-Montanus account; journals from the three voyages of James Cook between 1769-77; translations of journals from the voyages of de Surville in 1769, Marion du Fresne in 1772, and d'Entrecasteaux in 1793; and from the Russian expedition led by von Bellingshausen in 1820. They also include journals of early nineteenth-century British travellers, John Savage and J. L. Nicholas.

The graphic evidence of traditional Maori dress analysed in this research comes from the Dutch, British and Russian voyages of exploration. This chapter investigates these sources by the following method: firstly, determining the rationale behind the expeditions, secondly, establishing the reasons for the inclusion of graphic artists, thirdly, identifying the artists or draughtsmen and verifying their reliability, and finally, clarifying the different types of visual image available and the implications of these. The evidence establishes the respective

¹ Bernard Smith, 1985. *European Vision and the South Pacific*. Second edition. New Haven and London, Yale University Press, pp. 5-6, 27-28. See also Brown, Gordon H., 1988, *Visions of New*

levels of credibility that can be accorded the images in terms of the information they convey about Maori dress.

The Dutch, British and Russian sources can be established with uniform certainty. In comparison, French sources are somewhat obscure; consequently, French images are not included in this research.

SECTION A: The Dutch evidence

THE VOYAGE RATIONALE

The Dutch rationale for Tasman's voyage in 1642 was commercially driven. The earliest European images of Maori are found in Tasman's journal, but the Dutch role in the seventeenth-century Pacific is not widely known in New Zealand. Records show that Dutch exploration in the Pacific was well established by 1642. Some forty years before Tasman's expedition, the Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie,² (VOC) was instituted in Batavia (Djakarta) to support the continuing expansion of Dutch commercial and territorial interests in the Pacific. Dutch interest in the region they identified as the 'Southland' originated from accidental discoveries of parts of the west Australian coast made by vessels en route from the Cape of Good Hope to Java between 1616 and 1622. The Company-initiated voyage that was ultimately led by Tasman was the result of long-held aspirations to circumnavigate the unknown Southland and to further the Company's exploration of southern latitudes.³

The Company's intent was clearly stated in a resolution produced by the Governor-General, Anthony van Dieman, and the Councillors of the Company in August 1642. It demonstrated their prior experience, established their current objective, and testified to the degree of planning for the undertaking:

...to sail to, accordingly to discover, the partly known and still unreached South and Easternland, and also consequently to seek out any important lands, or at least convenient passages to known rich lands, and to use these ... for the improvement, and increase of the Compy's general welfare⁴

The resolution went on to designate the *Heemskerck* and *Zeehaen* as the intended vessels, with details of provisions, trade goods and minerals for trial in the visited lands. It specified Tasman as the commander, F. J. Visscher the pilot major, G.

Zealand : Artists in a New Land, David Bateman Ltd., Auckland, New Zealand, pp.16 – 17 for a discussion on the use of imagery from Cook's voyages.

² Dutch East India Company.

³ Andrew Sharp, 1968. *The Voyages of Abel Janszoon Tasman*. Clarendon Press, London, pp.15-20.

⁴ Sharp, 1968, p.20, quoting J.E. Heeres, 1898. 'Abel Janszoon Tasman: His Life and Labours', in *Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal*, Amsterdam.

Janssen and J. T. Jercksen as skippers, and the merchant Isaack Gilsemans, who, it stated, 'has fair knowledge of seafaring and the drawing of lands'. Gilsemans is thereby assumed to be the expeditionary draughtsman. The two ships had a total of 110 crew. The resolution ended by outlining the route of the projected voyage and its anticipated time frame.⁵

COMPANY REQUIREMENTS

The Company requirements of voyage records were expressed in minutiae. The expedition received a full and comprehensive brief, being expected to record not only the cartography of the lands that were discovered but also 'the life, customs and material civilisation of the native peoples' who might be encountered.

The Company mandate concerning interaction of expeditionary members with 'discovered peoples' was no less specific. It required Dutch personnel to remain on guard while simultaneously encouraging harmonious relationships with those they encountered:

[You] shall use great care at all places in landing with small craft, because it is apparent, the Southlands are peopled with very rough wild people, for which reason [you] must always be well armed and carefully on guard The barbarous people whom [you] may meet and come to speech with, [you] shall make contact with properly and amicably, small affronts of thievery, or other things, which they might visit on our people, [you] shall let pass unmarked, in order not to cause any enmity towards us by punishing them, but by showing of good countenances, attract them to us, so that [you] may the better find out, in what circumstances they and their lands are, and whether anything useful is to be got or done there.

... All insolence and hostility of the crew towards the discovered peoples, [you] will carefully prevent, and take care no harm is done to them in their houses, gardens, craft, property or women &a. Likewise no inhabitants brought away from their land against their will

Tasman's journal shows that the Company policy was maintained when he followed requisite Company procedure and recorded that Dutch attempts to establish friendly relations with Maori were unsuccessful. On 18 December 1642, when their vessels entered the region now known as Golden Bay on the north-western coast of the South Island of New Zealand, the Dutch were hopeful of exploring the land and acquiring fresh water. After sunset, a few hours following their arrival and some initial exploration in the bay, the Dutch vessels were approached by two waka (Maori canoes). Unsuccessful efforts by both parties to communicate with each other culminated in the exchange of some type of putara (Maori horn) and trumpet calls; the seventeenth-century Maori understanding of which cannot be assumed. The following morning a narrow, double-hulled waka approached the Dutch ships, once again trying to achieve verbal communication but without success. When

⁵ Sharp, 1968, pp.21-2, quoting Heeres.

several more waka advanced, the Dutch, still hopeful of opening trade, sent a small boat between their two vessels to advise their colleagues not to allow too many people to come on board at once. As the row-boat attempted to return to its ship, it was rammed by two waka and four of the seven-man crew were killed. The sailing ships fired their cannon to disperse their attackers, and the Dutch subsequently retrieved their row-boat. By noon, the ships' council had resolved to withdraw from the place they named Murderers' Bay, and the Dutch departed.⁶ Their visit had lasted less than twenty-four hours.

THE ROLE OF GRAPHIC ARTIST

The Company rationale for the inclusion of a graphic artist was also specified in the brief the expedition received. Not only were detailed maps required, but also topographical features were to be drawn:

.... All lands, islands, points, bights, inlets, bays, rivers, shoals banks, sands, rivers, rocks and reef &c, which [you] will meet with, and pass, you must chart thoroughly, and describe, and also the form and appearance, duly draw to which end a draughtsman has been provided for you; also carefully noting ... what notable mountains, as marks, hills, trees, or buildings ... are to be seen thereon

This Company emphasis on accurate recording of specific details applied to both written and drawn aspects of voyage records. The role of the graphic artist was clearly one of considerable responsibility: while his primary task was that of cartographer, he was also required to record the configuration of land surfaces. At the same time, he was expected to 'keenly observe' and 'properly draw' among other things, the form and appearance of the inhabitants and their clothing:

Of the nature of the lands, what fruits and livestock be there, what sort of structure of houses, the form and appearance of the inhabitants, their clothing, weapons, customs, manners, food, livelihood, religion, government, war, and other notable things, ... [you] shall as time allows, duly try to observe, showing them various samples of the goods, given for this purpose, in order to find out what wares and materials they have, and what [they] want of ours in return, all which [you] shall keenly observe, properly draw and correctly describe, keeping for this purpose a full, and suitably extensive journal, in which all your encounters are completely noted, in order therewith on your return, to be able to make appropriate report to us....⁷

The Company's expectation of the draughtsman was such that the appointee would need to be a proven, experienced, reliable employee, with a range of drawing skills. He would require access to art supplies, some designated working space and some repository for completed work; these factors would also necessitate a dependable, trustworthy appointee.

⁶ Sharp, 1968, pp. 120-124.

⁷ Sharp, 1968, pp. 30-9, quoting Heeres.

IDENTIFYING THE GRAPHIC ARTIST

It is difficult to identify the draughtsman and verify his reliability with certainty, but as a designated member of the governing Council, Gilsemans was one of the seven most important men of the expedition. His personal history⁸ shows him to be a responsible employee of broad experience by the time of Tasman's expedition. A former citizen of Rotterdam,⁹ he was involved with the van Dorp warfleet in the English Channel before he journeyed to Batavia in 1634.¹⁰ He joined the Company with the rank of 'corporal', the year after Tasman had signed on as 'first mate'.¹¹ Five years later, promoted to 'under-merchant', Gilsemans was sent to work in Japan. There, he is first recorded coming into contact with Tasman and Visscher, when they took part in the Company's expedition east of Japan in 1640.¹² For a time Gilsemans managed the Dutch foundry at Hirado before its relocation to Nagasaki, where in 1641 he was required to re-survey Nagasaki Bay.¹³ The following year he was promoted to the rank of 'merchant' and nominated to join Tasman on the 1642-3 voyage. By the time of Tasman's expedition, therefore, he was in his mid-thirties, having worked his way through the company ranks during the preceding eight years.

Although never expressly named by the Company as the draughtsman, Gilsemans is generally accepted to have held the office on the basis that he was recognised as having 'fair knowledge of seafaring and the drawing of lands'. There are no references to any alternative graphic artist in the Company resolution or on the expedition, but the Journal records his active participation in exploratory boat parties during the term of the voyage.¹⁴ The Journal illustrations are derived from original drawings attributed to him. Gilsemans's handwriting has been identified, his style displays a confidence in penmanship that exceeds that of the known writing of any other members of the expedition. A chart signed by him exists

⁸ c.1606-c.1646. Grahame Anderson, personal communication, 5 February 1999.

⁹ Gilsemans signed legal documents in Rotterdam in 1633, which described him as a citizen of that city. Anderson, personal communication, 5 February 1999. The same document establishes his parents as Abraham and Maria Gilsemans, and his siblings as sister Caterina and two brothers. According to Anderson, their Old Testament names suggest the influence of the Calvinistic beliefs of the new Republic's religious and social policies and attitudes.

¹⁰ Sharp, 1968, p.29.

¹¹ Sharp, 1968, p. 1-2, quoting J.E. Heeres.

¹² G. Anderson, 1991. 'Tasman revalued : a note on Gilsemans' drawings,' *Stout Centre Review*, Vol. 1, No. 3, April 1991, pp.15-17.

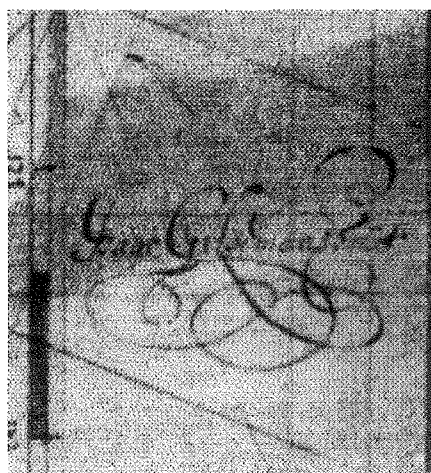
¹³ Isabel van Daaen, Japan-Netherlands Institute, Japan 103. Personal communication, facsimile, 29 March 1999. Quotation from the diary of Maximiliaen le Maire, opperhoofd of Deshima-Nagasaki trade mission, 3 July 1641.

¹⁴ For example, 25 September 1642, '...today our Chief upper-mate francoijs Iacobsz. with Mr Gilsemans has surveyed the land.' Also p. 111, 3 December 1642, '... we went with the Merchant Gilsemans and our boats ... to the South east side of this bay' Sharp, 1968, p. 72.

(Figure 2.1); both the elegant script and flourishing signature indicate his attention to artistic detail, when compared with the signature of Tasman (Figure 2.2).



Figure 2.1. Gilsemans's Map of the South Part of Tasmania, (signature lower right).



Abraham Tasman

Figure 2.2. Signatures of Tasman (above) and Gilsemans (left).

It is important to substantiate the Tasman journal artist as a reputable graphic artist, in order to uphold the use of data in his images. It has been shown that Gilsemans was the most likely candidate, although apart from the statement that he had 'fair knowledge of ... the drawing of lands' and the fact that he had surveyed Nagasaki Bay, there are no further details on his level of skill as a draughtsman. However, by registering potential contemporary influences from the period, it can be shown that the graphic artist worked within established traditions. Possible cognition of a range of early seventeenth-century Dutch artists such as Saenredam and Vroom, as well as forms of religious art, imply that the graphic artist had some general background of art education. (See Appendix A). Recognising the composite use of these ideas enables the viewer to discern how the artist was able to incorporate a considerable quantity of information in a single drawing, adding to the credibility of the work. Gilsemans's history establishes his opportunity to the sources of these conventions, and this work accepts him as the official draughtsman of the voyage.

JOURNAL AND VISUAL IMAGE COPIES

The Company policy at the conclusion of voyages was no less dogmatic than at the commencement. It required the transcription by hand of at least six copies of the ship's Journal, complete with illustrations, to be made in Batavia; these were to send back to the six Dutch provinces that supported the VOC. Of these manuscript copies, only two are currently known to exist, the first being the General State Archive Copy (SAC) held in Amsterdam, the second, known as the Huydecoper version, held in the Mitchell Library, Sydney, Australia. The former copy was presented to the Netherlands State Archives in 1867, by J. G. Gleichman. While not written in Tasman's hand, his signature on the document showed his endorsement of it as a record of the expedition. The Huydecoper, was discovered in a collection owned by a descendant of Salomon Sweers, one of the Councillors in Batavia about the mid-seventeenth century. The whereabouts of the original journal or any other copies is unknown.

Company procedure for the verification of copies demonstrates an established practice to ensure accuracy. Gilsemans had a part in this verification process of transcription and compilation. The two texts show distinct but easily differentiated styles of handwriting, indicating that at least two clerks were engaged in the copying exercise. The handwriting of Gilsemans has been identified on both copies, in notations in the margins of the pages, and in the similar inscriptions at the top and

bottom of each page.¹⁵ Comparisons of the State Archives and Huydercoper texts show that they are independent copies of the same journal, each revealing only minor variations.¹⁶ The journal images were subject to the same procedures, and hand copied from the originals of Gilsemans by unnamed VOC personnel. Both the SAC and the Blok images have inscriptions in the same handwriting¹⁷ giving them matching provenance. More recently, this hand has also been identified as that of Gilsemans.¹⁸ Gilsemans never returned to the Netherlands, which confirms these copies were produced in Batavia. By the end of 1643, the transcripts were on their way to the Netherlands.¹⁹

In the late nineteenth century, this material became available publicly. In 1898, a facsimile edition of the *State Archives Journal* was published by Frederick Muller & Co. of Amsterdam. This consisted of the 120 pages of the State Archives version (that is, reproductions of the copyists' hand written pages and the copied-in illustrations). It included a translation into English, the story of the company and Tasman, by J.M. Heeres.²⁰ The Huydecoper version has never been published, but it was translated and compared page by page with the State Archives version for the Australian government by P.K. Roest in 1927. There are some insignificant variances in the texts, but nothing that affects the descriptions of Maori. The Huydecoper contains no images from New Zealand.²¹

THE MURDERERS' BAY IMAGE

Verifying the reliability of Gilsemans's work is a convoluted process. The complexity of the Murderers' Bay scene is unique in terms of the other images examined in this research. Entitled *A view of Murderers' Bay as you are anchored there at 15 fathoms*,²² the State Archives version is a pen, ink and wash illustration of events related in the Journal, depicted in the narrative style (Figure 2.3). No working drawings are extant. Authentication therefore requires analysis of all possible elements of the work, such as how closely the narrative form adheres to

¹⁵ Anderson, personal communication, 20 February 1999. Anderson advises that Mitchell Library staff concur with his findings.

¹⁶ Sharp, 1968, pp. 55-6.

¹⁷ Sharp, 1968, p. 56.

¹⁸ Anderson, personal communication, 20 February 1999.

¹⁹ Sharp states that a report dated 22 December 1643, to the Netherlands authorities of the East India Company, from the Governor-General and Councillors at Batavia referred to 'accompanying day registers of the aforesaid Tasman ... in which the winds, courses, trend of lands, appearance of the peoples etc. pertinent is indicated, and are drawn'. Sharp, 1968, p.54, quoting Heeres, pp.144-5.

²⁰ This document was republished in the 1960s and it is this latter version which can be seen in many libraries in New Zealand and elsewhere.

²¹ A copy of this handwritten work is available on microfilm at the Turnbull Library.

the journal text, as well as the graphic details of, ships, topography and figures. Validation of Maori components, such as the waka, assist in determining how reliable the elements of Maori dress may be.

In the right foreground, Gilsemans represented the double hulled waka that approached the Dutch vessels on the first evening. In the centre, he showed the attack on the *Zeehaen's* small boat the following day, the escape of three of its seven man crew, while the two sailing ships fire their cannon; at the left, he depicted the Dutch retrieval of the cock-boat after it had been abandoned, and the fleet of pursuing waka. Finally, at the extreme lower left, he showed the ultimate departure of the two Dutch ships. A key was included to ensure accurate interpretation of the drawing. The translation follows:

Thus Appears the Murderers Bay when you lie anchored in 15 Fathoms in it.

A. Are our Ships

B. Are the canoes which came round our ships

C. is the *Zeehaen's* small boat which came Rowing towards our ship and overpowered By Inhabitants of the land and after that [they] because of the Shooting Abandoned Again when we Saw that They had Abandoned the Boat [it] was brought Back [by] our Skipper with our Sloop

D. Is the View Of their canoes and the appearance Of the People

E. Are our ships which go under Sail

F. Is our Sloop which brought Back the *Praeuwen*²³

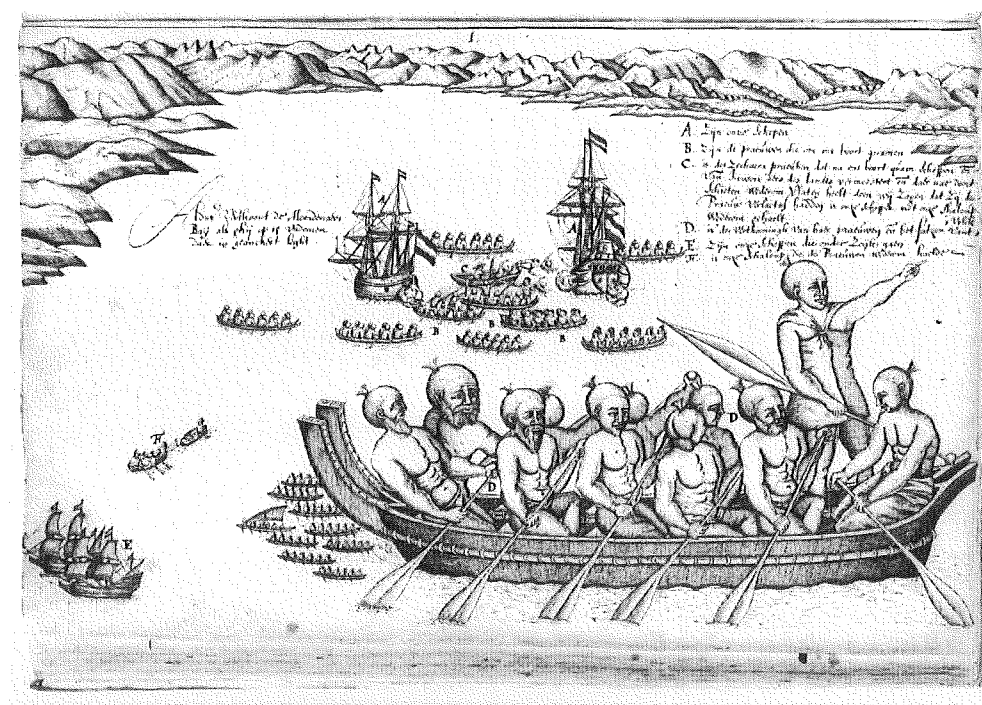


Figure 2.3 A view of Murderers' Bay as you are anchored there at 15 fathoms, after Gilsemans.

²² Algemeen Reijstaachief, Collectie Aanwinsten 1e afdeling (nr. toegang 1.11.01.01), inv.nr. 121, fol. 34r

²³ Sharp, pp. 125-6. Sharp also explains that *Praeuwen* is apparently a copyist error for *praeutien* which is the term used previously for the *Zeehaen's* small boat.

The dominating feature of this work is the waka in the foreground, the 'View Of their canoes and the appearance Of the People'.

Gilsemans clearly had opportunity to observe the local Maori. He had been a member of the boat party which had approached the shore the previous afternoon. They returned to the ships at dusk, after which two waka had advanced. In accordance with his brief, Gilsemans would have made some observations during the vocal and potentially challenging encounter that took place on the water during the evening. The following morning, as his colleagues waved pieces of white cloth and knives hoping to attract Maori, he would have seen the canoe with thirteen men in it approaching to within a 'cast'²⁴ of the Dutch vessels in another attempt to enter verbal negotiation. Then, after the Council members had deliberated on board the *Heemskerck*, and he had returned to the *Zeehaen*, Gilsemans would have watched the converging fleet of seven waka. He would have seen a seventeen-manned, tall, sharply prowed model and witnessed the attack on his seven compatriots as they too attempted to return to the ship. Although the incident was over by noon, and another Council meeting had swiftly resolved to abandon the region, in view of the expedition's brief and the number of witnesses, Gilsemans would have been obliged to record this ominous incident very carefully.

Gilsemans' portrayal of the Maori in their waka is one aspect of this work that has initiated the cautious response which it has received. The unusual size and shape of the heads of the crew members, their lack of moko or personal ornament and the unfamiliar garment of their leader have all contributed to misgivings about the veracity of the work. The position of the crew member with his back to the tauihu (bow of the waka), and the fact that the strangely paired waka appear devoid of traditional decoration have also cast doubts on the authenticity of Gilsemans's work. In the late twentieth century, the entire image is difficult to reconcile with that which is now perceived as being 'traditional', but the draftsman's integrity can be established through close analysis of his work.

Gilsemans made several drawings of New Zealand coastline and topography,²⁵ and his expertise in this field has not been challenged.²⁶ His depiction of the Dutch

²⁴ Possible a stone's throw or a lead line or anchor cast.

²⁵ There are five single pages and two double pages of illustrations pertaining to the New Zealand section of the voyage, including one map.

²⁶ Gilsemans's work was independently tested by four sailors on board the 11-metre yacht *Crescendo* in February 1985. Using Tasman's bearings to Stephens Island and his depth at anchorage as their initial guidelines, the sailors found themselves to be at a point that was within 50 metres of Tasman's position by comparison with the Journal drawing of the coastal outline identified as Abel Tasman

vessels has also been verified.²⁷ Much of his observation of the waka and hoe (paddles) is in fact accurate. Two single waka were joined together on occasions when increased stability was required.²⁸ The lashing of rauawa (top-strakes) along the sides of waka is still recognisable as customary practice.²⁹ Likewise, the horizontal tilt of the triangular sail shown amongst the pursuing waka is accurately portrayed.³⁰ Further accurate detail is recorded in the shape of the paddles; this contour is designed for minimum resistance when plunged into the water, allowing for the greatest speed and efficiency. This fact corroborates the journal text, which comments on the swiftness of the Maori vessels when paddled.³¹ Given this recognisable imagery, it seemed strange that there should be so much unfamiliar material. This led to the examination of further works.

PACIFIC IMAGES

Gilsemans made further drawings of other indigenous Pacific peoples during the remainder of the expedition which indicate his capabilities. Of his four successive illustrations in the Journal, two were set in Tonga, the third in New Guinea and the last in Iamna near the Podena Islands (Figure 2.4). The groups of figures in these compositions are less numerous and their pose more passive, in comparison with the first scene at Murderers' Bay. However, they show clearly that while Gilsemans continued to portray figures of robust pyknic physique, there are no particularly exaggerated features in the endomorphic body structure of his subjects. The only exception is the figure of a small Tongan child (Figure 2.4, extreme left, above right). This figure has been portrayed as a miniaturised adult, rather than in the anatomical proportions of a child. Examples of this practice can be seen in some earlier, religious, Flemish art in which the Christ child was sometimes depicted as a miniature adult.³²

Reede or Roadstead of December 1642. They ascertained 'that Gilsemans's drawing was a precise cartographic document, with every island, headland and hilltop in exactly the right place, and its curved coastline encompassed the whole of the top of the Marlborough Sounds from Cape Jackson in the east to Cape Stephens in the west'. Anderson, personal communication, March 1999.

²⁷ Sharp, 1968, p. 28.

²⁸ Nelson, Anne, 1991. *Nga Waka Maori: Maori Canoes*, Macmillan, New Zealand, p. 26.

²⁹ Cf. drawings by H. D. Spöring, 1769, *The Head of a Canoe*, S. Parkinson, 1770, *New Zealand War Canoe*, British Library, London. Add. MS 23920, f.77 (b), and f.49.

³⁰ Best, Eldson, 1977. *The Maori canoe and Polynesian voyagers*. Dominion Museum Bulletin; No 7. AMS Press, New York, pp. 177-190.

³¹ Sharp, 1968. 'they rowed with incredible swiftness' cited in the Haalbos-Montanus account, p.42, '[they] could proceed Speedily with these vessels' p.122, '[they] turned with speed for land' p. 123.

³² For example, Ambrosius Benson, fifteenth century. *St Antony of Padua*. A miniature nude Christ child stands in his hand. In *Flemish Painting from the van Eycks to Metsys*, Leo van Puvelde, facing p. 205. Jan de Beer, *Adoration of the Magi*, in *Flemish Painting from Bosch to Rubens*, facing p. 75.

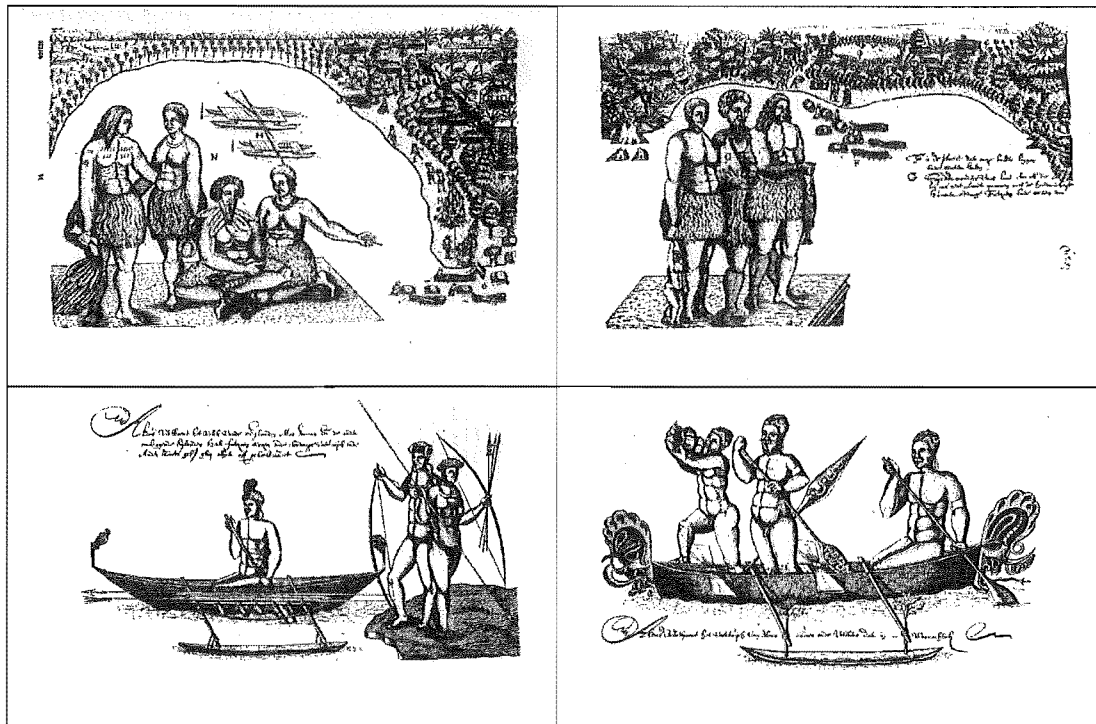


Figure 2.4. Four Pacific images, after Gilsemans

These Pacific drawings demonstrate that Gilsemans was capable of drawing normal shaped heads and delineating a variety of hair-line, hairstyle and head-dress, that indicated differences of inferred colour, length and texture. He was able to depict cicatrice and was not inhibited about the portrayal of nudity. He showed a diversity of leaf and leaf fibre garments, in addition to a range of personal ornament such as earrings, pendants, necklaces and armbands. In New Guinea, he also showed the decoration of paddles and canoes.

RE-EXAMINING THE MURDERERS' BAY IMAGE

Gilsemans's ability to render the range of detail in his other Pacific images makes the apparent anomalies of his New Zealand work all the more intriguing. Taken into account with the complexity of the Murderers' Bay image, it suggests that all of his depictions had a considered purpose. Consequently, all the unfamiliar Maori elements of the work have been examined in detail. This process begins with the figures in the waka in the foreground and related details, before concentrating on the central scene between the two Dutch vessels.

Previous research has claimed that the canoe depicted by Gilsemans has no evidence of carving,³³ but a re-examination of the image shows that this is incorrect.

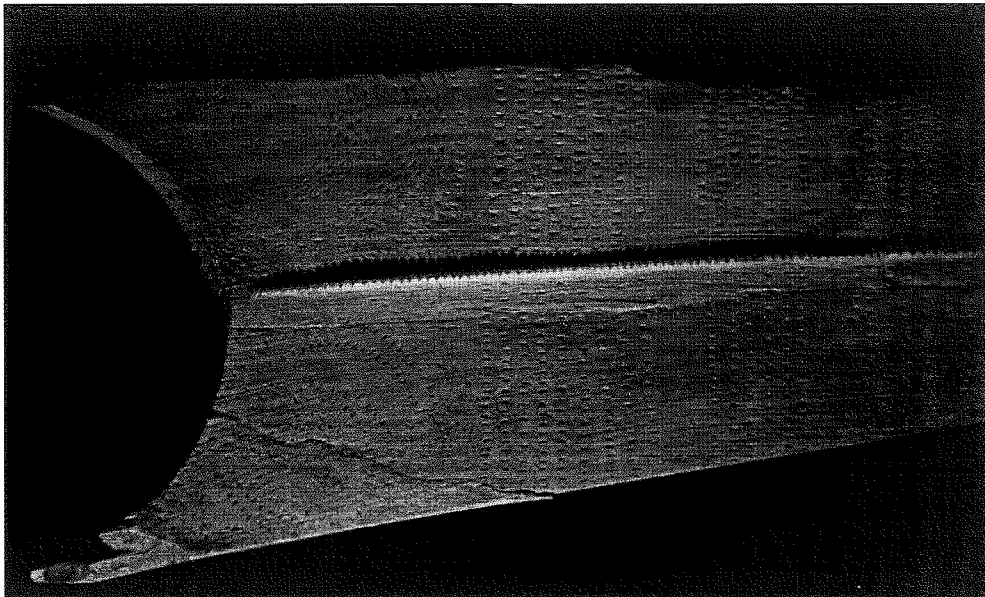


Figure 2.5 Waitore Haumi. Taranaki Museum A.82.500.

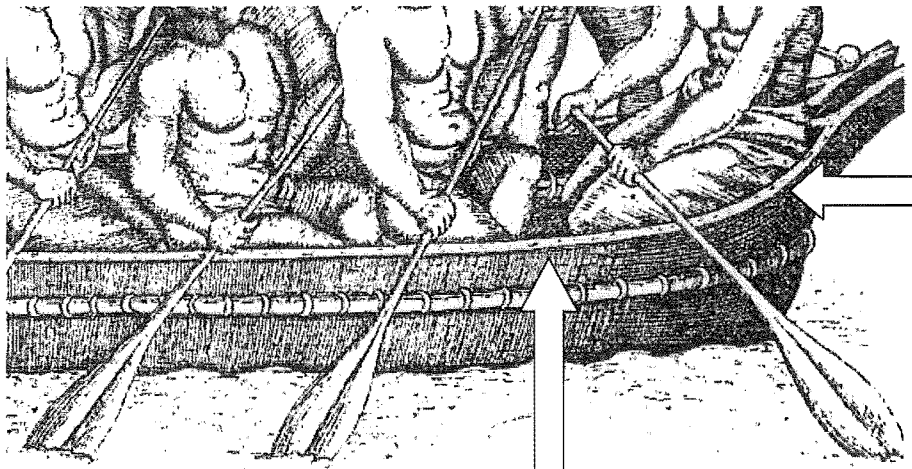


Figure 2.6 Detail of waka and tauihu, showing possible surface decoration.

Close scrutiny of the waka exposes whakairo (decorative) detail that has hitherto been unrecognised, primarily because it was not in the form nor in the places where it might more usually have been expected to be seen. The complex spiral and curvilinear form of the carved figurehead has not always been 'traditional'. The flat pointed shape of the Waitore haumi (canoe bow-cover), is an older style.³⁴ About

³³ E.g. Anne Salmond, 1991. *Two Worlds: First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Viking, Penguin Books, (NZ) Ltd, Auckland, p. 79.

³⁴ Brake, Brian, David R. Simmons, Merimeri Penfold, 1994. *Te Maori: Taonga Maori. Treasures of the Maori*. Reed, Auckland, pp. 64-5. Refer also Richard Cassells, 1979. *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 1:85-108; Ian Lawlor, 1979. *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* 1:109-114.

100 cm in length, its central ridge has regular notching, with indented patterns on either side (Figure 2.5). Gilsemans showed small lines indicating texture along the upper surface of the rauawa near the prow. These raise the question of whether he had seen indented surface decoration (Figure 2.6).

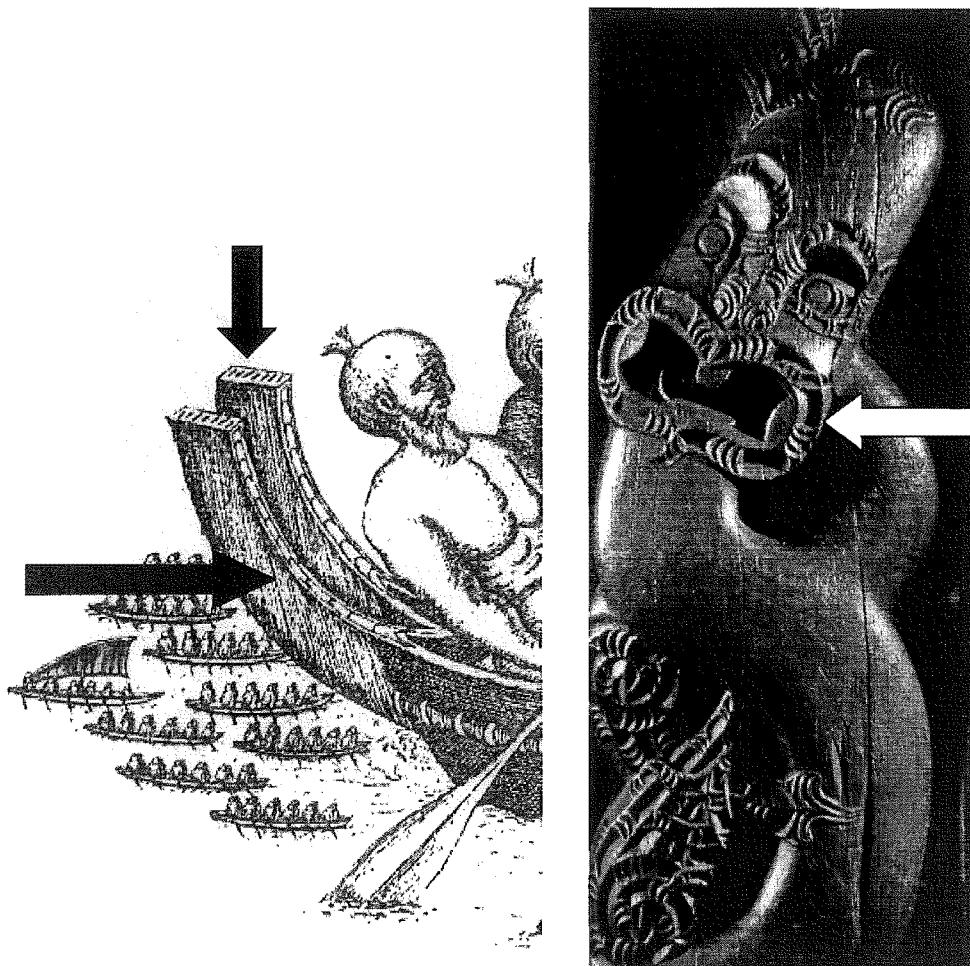


Figure 2.7 Details of tauraparapa and Ngati Whatua whakawae, both showing inaunahi notching. Auckland Institute and Museum 6206.

Nonetheless, there is no doubt that Gilsemans observed carving on the tauraparapa (sternposts). He showed parallel lines with curved markings between them, along the sloping rises of the tauraparapa he depicted, and additional lines across the two terminal horizontal planes (Figure 2.7 left detail). Maori art history shows the use of haehae (parallel lines) either side of pakati (notches) as an established form of decorative carving.³⁵ The Ngati Whatua whakawae (doorjamb) from the Kaipara house of Tutangimamae at Manakapua, carved about 1650 AD,³⁶

³⁵ John Bevan Ford, 1984. 'Explanation of Patterns' in *Maori Visual Art*, 46:214, Massey University.

³⁶ Brake, et al, 1994, pp. 24-5.

uses decorative elements of haehae lines with unaunahi (fishscale) notching to define the mouth and eyebrows of the carved figure (Figure 2.7 right detail). The simplified or modified form of sternpost carving that Gilsemans delineated may suggest a stage in development of Maori whakairo (decorative work) as seen from the distance maintained between the parties and reflect the distance maintained between the two parties at Taitapu; nonetheless, it confirms there was traditional carving ornamenting the waka that was graphically recorded in Tasman's journal.

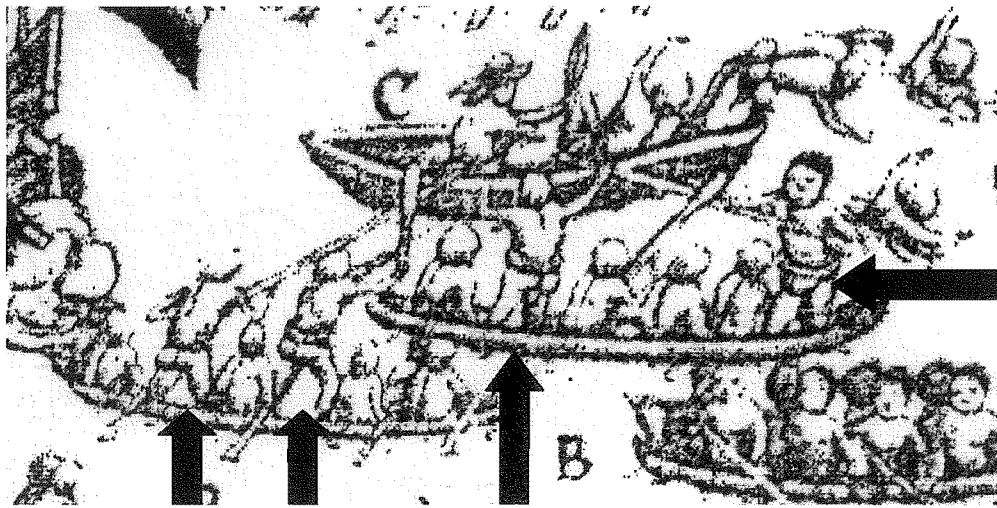


Figure 2.8 Central detail of Gilsemans's image

However, it is the central incident enacted between the two Dutch ships which reveals the most compelling new evidence of Gilsemans's artistic integrity. An enlargement of the pivotal battle scene reveals previously unacknowledged data (Figure 2.8). Four standing warriors are shown in the two waka attacking the Dutch row-boat. Three of these have their backs to the viewer; their buttocks are naked, but they wear broad, thick belts, clearly discernible as tatua.³⁷ Special tatua were used as warbelts, made from narrow strips of harakeke leaf, woven by the raranga (plaiting) process, and folded longitudinally, their unfinished ends tucked inside giving protective padding. The fourth figure faces the viewer, wearing a triangular apron-like garment that is a maro. Material evidence shows that maro were woven by the whatu process from muka (prepared flax fibres), but oral tradition records that special forms of maro were worn by tohunga (specialists) for ceremonies in times of war.³⁸ Such garments are exactly those which ethnologists would expect to

³⁷ A. Hamilton, 1901. *Maori Art*, The New Zealand Institute, Wellington, New Zealand, 1972 reprint, The Holland Press, London, pp. 291-2.

³⁸ E.g. maro huka, maro tuhau, see Hamilton, 1901. pp. 289-90.

be worn in such circumstances,³⁹ and while no specific *tohunga maro* are known to exist, examples of *tatua* and woven *maro* are found in the Maori collections of most major New Zealand museums. The combatant garments are not recorded elsewhere in Tasman's journal; their depiction is important confirmation of the documentary nature of Gilsemans's work. This data has been available since the publication of the facsimile edition of the State Archives Journal in 1898, but until now it has been completely overlooked by researchers.



Figure 2.9 Detail of standing figure and hoe.

The crewmembers of the foreground *waka* reveal even more information (Figure 2.9). The esoteric heads of the figures predominate; however, these are discussed in Chapter 3. The position of the man seated in the prow, who is assumed to have his back to the *tauihu*, can alternatively be seen as facing the *kaikorero* (speaking figure). The pose of the standing figure suggests that he is a leader in his group; his hand held accoutrement supports this hypothesis. The rounded knob and elongated blade of the paddle he holds is significant. Unlike the later British voyagers, the Dutch had no access to traded artefacts as memory aids, yet Gilsemans's keen eye for detail recorded this specimen which can readily be identified as a ceremonial paddle.⁴⁰ The special garment the man wears presents another challenge; this is resolved in Chapter 5.

³⁹ E. Tregear, 1904. *The Maori Race*, A.D. Willis, Wanganui, pp.232-3.

⁴⁰ cf. Nelson, 1991, p. 38.

THE BLOK IMAGE

However, another image relating to New Zealand does exist. The remnant of another copy of Tasman's Journal, consisting of a single folio leaf, was presented to the Netherlands State Archives by D. Blok between 1872 and 1881. Known as the Blok fragment, it is a second portrayal of the scene of events at Murderers' Bay (Figure 2.10). Clearly produced by a different hand, it shows few pertinent differences to the image in the State Archives Copy, but many similarities which will be analysed in Chapter 3. The written descriptions in the Blok fragment have been identified as from the same hand as the State Archives Copy, giving it the same Batavian provenance as the other copies. Differences in its numbering system suggest it may be part of an abridged version,⁴¹ but this does not affect its value as an additional source of graphic evidence.

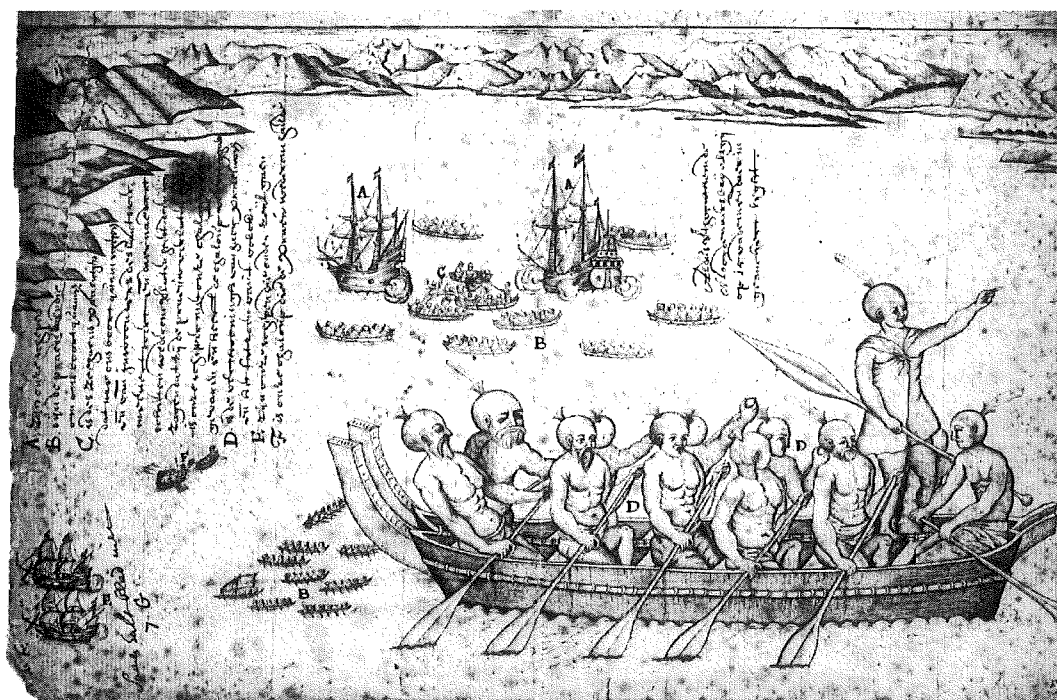


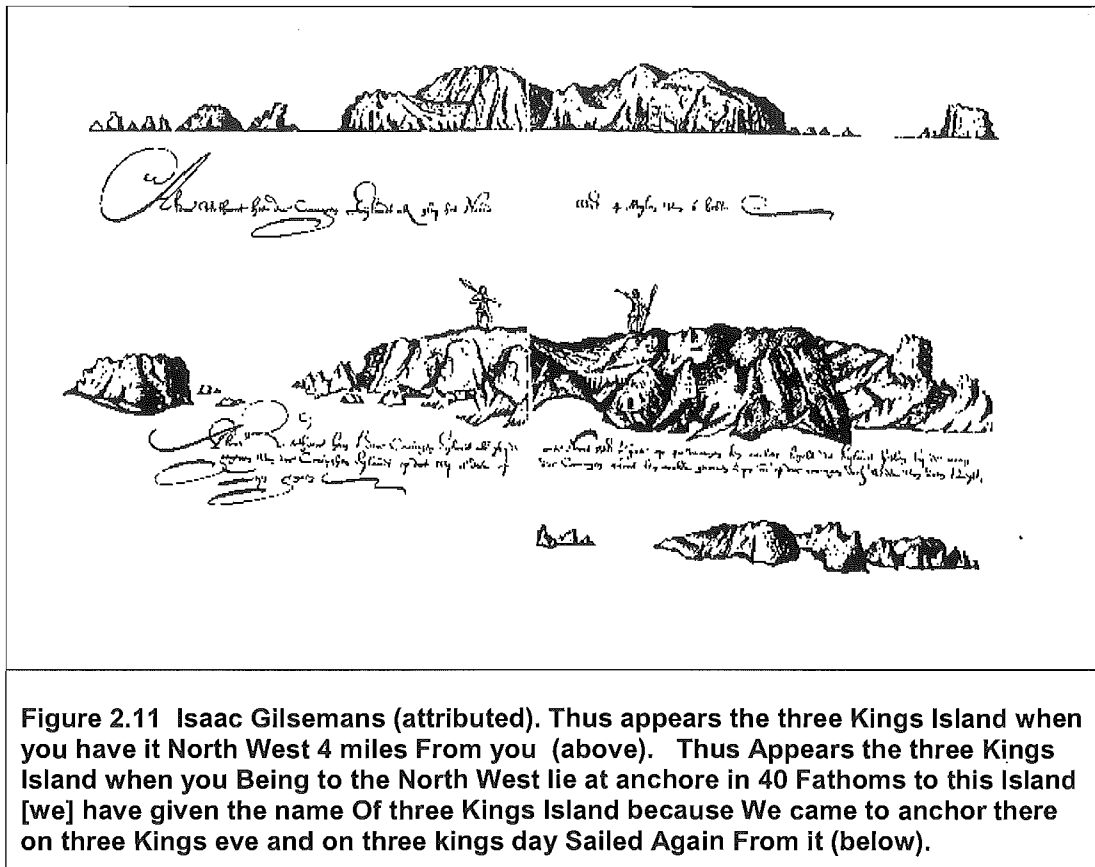
Figure 2.10 Blok image, after Gilsemans.

THREE KINGS ISLAND IMAGE

Gilsemans produced only one other drawing that included Maori figures. This second image, *Thus appears the three Kings Island ...* shows two people on the skyline of the island, in January 1643. (Figure 2.11). Apart from the fact that the figures wear the same form of dress as the standing leader of the 'Murderers Bay'

⁴¹ Sharp, 1968, p. 56. For a discussion on these and other derived images, see R.D.J. Collins, 1991, 'Abel Tasman in New Zealand Waters: The Pictorial Record' in *Bulletin of New Zealand Art History*, Vol. 12, pp. 4-28.

image, this work makes no further contribution to our knowledge of traditional Maori dress.



THE HAALBOS-MONTANUS ACCOUNT

Further data is contributed by one other Dutch source. While the State Archives Copy of Tasman's Journal was the official record, it was not the first account of Tasman's voyage to reach the public. In 1671, a narrative of the expedition, ascribed to Henrik Haelbos, [sic] was published in a geographical work entitled *De Nieuwe en Onbekende Weereld*, by Arnoldus Montanus. This is sometimes known as the Haalbos-Montanus account, or the Sailor's Journal.⁴² Haalbos, who is believed to have been 'one of the barbers, who also practised elementary surgery'⁴³ narrated his experiences to Montanus. The narrative has been described as giving every indication of being an independent record.⁴⁴ While this version does not include any images, it does contain new information in descriptions of Maori at Murderers' Bay. This additional material about the incident at Murderers' Bay is not found elsewhere, and is therefore incorporated in this research.

⁴² See Sharp for a translation of this work.

⁴³ Sharp, 1968, p. 40.

CONCLUSION

Documentary evidence pertaining to Tasman's voyage verifies that VOC policy specified detailed requirements of its expeditionary voyage in the southern region. The Company procedures for the maintenance and replication of records were well established and designed to minimise the transcription of error. The role of the draughtsman was precisely specified and the illustration attributed to Gilsemans has shown sufficient accuracy to validate its further use as a potential source of data about traditional Maori dress. When Tasman's vessels left Murderers' Bay, his Councillors were resolved to consider the New Zealand inhabitants as enemies, but their brief visit had already accumulated a variety of information. Gilsemans had amassed an extraordinary amount of data in less than 24 hours. His attention to details now substantiated, supports the potential accuracy of the unfamiliar material in his image.



Figure 2.12 From Nicolaes Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartarye*. This reproduction shows how the image was 'improved' by changing the size of the heads of the crew.

Gilsemans' drawing, as contained within the State Archives Copy of Tasman's Journal, was a source of information for future voyagers and was copied and amended for incorporation in subsequent publications. These included Nicolaes Witsen's *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, in 1705⁴⁵ (Figure 2.12), François Valentijn's *Oud en Nieuw Oost-Indiën*, in 1726,⁴⁶ and Alexander Dalrymple's *Account of the Discoveries made in the South Pacific Ocean Previous to 1764*.⁴⁷ For almost 127

⁴⁴ Sharp, 1968, p. 40.

⁴⁵ Amsterdam, François Halma, 1705.

⁴⁶ Dordrecht & Amsterdam, 1726.

⁴⁷ London in 1767.

years, until the arrival of Cook, it provided the sole European perception of Maori appearance.

SECTION B: The British Evidence

EXPEDITION RATIONALE

The three voyages of Captain James Cook supply the next sources of evidence of traditional Maori dress. The rationale behind his voyages was no less purposeful than that which had preceded him. Like Tasman, so Cook received definite instructions as to his exploration in the Pacific; secret orders relating to the presumed southern continent, written by his Admiralty Commissioners in July 1768, and to be opened following the completion of his first task, the observation of the transit of Venus in June 1769.⁴⁸ These orders stated:

You are to proceed to the southward in order to make discovery of the Continent Until you discover it, or fall in with the Eastern side of the Land discover'd by Tasman and now called New Zealand.

If you discover the Continent ... You are to employ yourself [sic] diligently in exploring ... carefully observing ... also surveying and making Charts....

... and in case you find any Mines, Minerals or valuable stones you are to bring home Specimens of each, and such Specimens of the Seeds of the Trees, Fruits and Grains as you may be able to collect....

You are likewise to observe the Genius, Temper, Disposition and Number of the Natives, if there be any, and endeavour by all proper means to cultivate a Friendship and Alliance with them, making them presents of such Trifles as they ay Value, inviting them to Traffick, and Shewing them every kind of Civility and Regard....

After the return of *Endeavour*, when Cook put forward a tentative plan for a second Pacific voyage, the First Lord and Comptroller of the British navy⁴⁹ recognised and affirmed the strategic opportunity he offered, setting the way for the voyages of the *Resolution* and *Adventure* in 1772-1775. He was not long returned before he was appointed by the Admiralty to command the third voyage, that of the *Resolution* and *Discovery* from 1776 until he was killed in 1779. Cook's expeditions were an official part of British world exploration.

THE RATIONALE FOR ARTISTS

Unlike the Dutch East India Company authorities, the British Admiralty did not initially provide a draughtsman. It was Mr Joseph Banks who sought to have artists included as part of his scientific team on board the *Endeavour*. Although one

⁴⁸ Refer Beaglehole, *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*, Vol. 1., 'The Instructions', pp. cclxxxii-cclxxxiv.

⁴⁹ The Earl of Sandwich and Sir Hugh Palliser respectively. Beaglehole, Vol 2, p. xix.

reason for this purpose had been his desire to return and entertain his friends with views of scenes he had encountered, Banks was also an enthusiast in the use of art as an aid to descriptive science. Smith notes that Banks considered drawings to hold potential superiority to words in the conveyance of information.⁵⁰ His confidence in the value of graphic arts was proven. By the second and third voyages, the 'official artist' was a member of a graphic team that included chart makers, topographical draughtsmen, drawers of natural history and keen amateurs. However, this graphic team necessitates an understanding of the artistic values of the late eighteenth century before the individual artists can be validated.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY ARTISTIC VALUES

The different types of visual image available at this period were more complex than those of the previous century, and their objectives more diffuse. This is important because it has the potential to affect the authenticity of the work of the artists of Cook's three voyages to New Zealand. This is explained by Bernard Smith:

Eighteenth-century art students were trained to fulfil special requirements: to draw plants and animals for natural historians; to draw maps and charts and topographical views for the army and the navy; or, higher up the social ladder, to paint landscapes and portraits or even history paintings of memorable deeds from scripture or the classics for Royal Academy audiences. But no one was trained to do all these things.⁵¹

Specialisation was thus an important aspect of European art in the latter part of the eighteenth century. Furthermore, unlike the preceding Flemish and Dutch schools of art, the European art world of the latter half of the eighteenth century had a specific agenda. The success of aspiring artists was largely influenced by their response to the conventions and establishment of their time. When the Royal Academy was established in London in 1768, its initial Italianate domination came to have a powerful influence on English taste. This was the age of the Grand Tour, which developed an aesthetic culture that was founded on classical precedent. During this period, the *genre* of history painting was perceived to be the highest form of art. However, it was not sufficient merely to paint religious subject matter or recreate historical events, it was required that the painter should deviate from truth where necessary and engage artistic licence to create the noble or heroic figures that the grand style demanded. In his fourth annual *Discourse*, the inaugural President of the Academy, Joshua Reynolds, extolled the meritorious pursuit of the ideal theory, seeking the poetically ennobled portrayal of historic-hero figures, regardless of their historical accuracy. He stated:

⁵⁰ Smith, B., 1992. *Imagining the Pacific : in the wake of the Cook voyages*. Yale University Press, New Haven, pp. 43, 58, 77.

⁵¹ Smith, B., 1992, p. 193.

...it is not enough in Invention that the Artist should restrain and keep under all the inferior parts of his subject; he must sometimes deviate from vulgar and strict historical truth, in pursuing the grandeur of his design.⁵²

These principles were applied to both the engravings and paintings that were developed from the field work of travelling artists of the eighteenth century. Thus, from working drawings, the interpretations of successive artists often strove to create scenes that might be more pleasingly exotic or otherwise gratifying for the eye of the contemporary European viewer. They might conflate a collection of images to create a more imposing scene, or seek to enhance or omit an image that – in their perception – may have seemed ill-favoured or offensive. This practice had the potential consequence of obscuring or even changing the ethnographic data that the original artist sought to convey. It contrasted completely with the honest 'warts-and-all' portrayal of both the sixteenth century Flemish school, and the newly developing Dutch school of the early seventeenth century, which had influenced Gilsemans' age.

Smith has drawn theoretical distinctions between types of drawing, suggesting three precepts by which drawings may be categorised. This is germane to understanding which drawings can be used as accurate sources of data. Smith calls these categories inventive drawing, illustrative drawing and documentary drawing.⁵³ It is the documentary drawing which is of major importance to the researcher. The graphic artists who accompanied Cook used their particular talents to record the voyage discoveries more or less as they occurred, in a documentary manner. Their empirical studies drawn during the voyages were made with the express purpose of recording details of the new discoveries that were being made. When the expeditions returned to England, a number of the field images were developed into art works suitable for reproduction in forthcoming publications, or for inclusion among the exhibitions of the day.⁵⁴ These circumstances had the potential to introduce changes in the artists' original works. Thus the reliability of social and ethnographic information portrayed in the art of Captain Cook's voyages can often be directly related to the method of its production or reproduction.

⁵² Sir Joshua Reynolds, 1975. *Discourses on Art* (ed. R. Wark), New Haven, pp. 59-60.

⁵³ Inventive drawing comes from the imagination of the draughtsman, illustrative is representational of story or text while documentary drawing is the representation of what the draughtsman discerns 'out there in his world'. Smith, 1992, p. 52.

⁵⁴ The contemporary reproduction technology had progressed from wood-cut and engraving, to include processes of soft ground etching and stipple engraving which required specific expertise, while the selection committees of contemporary exhibitions had their own criteria in line with the guidelines of Reynolds.

In reference to this, Smith states that 'in the case of field depictions, the demand for accurate information acts most powerfully, despite the conceptual luggage that each artist brought from Europe to the Pacific with him'.⁵⁵ Smith comments, '... all information is conveyed by a code of some kind, and the first thing to do is learn to read the code'. To interpret these 'codes' in the art of Cook's voyages requires some understanding of the respective artists and their training. The three major artists whose works are included in this area of study are Sydney Parkinson, William Hodges and John Webber.

VALIDATING THE ARTISTS

The integrity of Sydney Parkinson's work is seldom questioned. A twenty-three year old Scot, and a Quaker, Parkinson (c.1745-71) was the botanical artist engaged by Banks on Cook's first voyage. Of Parkinson's work, Smith has stated that 'it is most unlikely that the drawings are done from memory for Parkinson was trained to draw what was before him'.⁵⁶ Parkinson had been attracted to the career of a natural-history draughtsman through premiums offered by the [Royal] Society of Arts and the encouragement of provincial drawing master, William Shipley. He exhibited with the Free Society of Artists in 1765 and 1766,⁵⁷ and was engaged by Banks to draw birds and insects that he had collected on his visit to Newfoundland and Labrador in 1766. Parkinson had also been employed by the Welsh naturalist Thomas Pennant as an illustrator for his work *Indian Zoology 1768-70*.⁵⁸ To Pennant, the role of topographical and natural-history artists was an important one in the communication of accurate information. Smith notes 'that the artists who worked for Pennant depicted animals in settings that were ecologically suited to them'.⁵⁹ Smith also describes Parkinson as 'probably as good a botanical draughtsman as anyone practising in England at that time'.⁶⁰ However, although he had no training in figure drawing, when Banks's designated figure draughtsman, Alexander Buchan, died shortly after reaching Tahiti, Parkinson was obliged to take on much of Buchan's work in addition to his own. His materials for this extra work were limited to pencil, pen and wash, while his landscapes were always restrained in grey wash; his use of water colour paint being restricted to the natural history

⁵⁵ Smith, 1988, *Style, Information and Image in the Art of Cook's Voyages*. School of Fine Arts, University of Canterbury, Christchurch, N.Z., p. 13.

⁵⁶ Smith, 1988, p. 6.

⁵⁷ Smith, 1992, p. 35.

⁵⁸ Smith, 1992, p. 37.

⁵⁹ Smith, 1992, p. 38.

⁶⁰ Smith, 1992, p. 193.

studies required for his employer.⁶¹ Nevertheless, Parkinson had access to a number of publications on board the *Endeavour*, including George Shelvocke's *Voyage Round the World* (1726) and Hogarth's *The Analysis of Beauty*. The fact that he had recourse to a copy of Hogarth's work does not detract from the truth of Parkinson's field work; Smith suggests that Parkinson may in fact have been attempting to acquire some figure drawing skills.⁶² Before his demise towards the end of the voyage, Parkinson had succeeded in producing a quantity of drawings of indigenous peoples and their artefacts in addition to more than 950 botanical and zoological works.⁶³

Two other members of the same voyage produced images which are analysed for their data in this research. They were the Scandinavian, Herman Diedrich Spöring, (c. 1733-71) and the Tahitian, Tupaia. Spöring initially studied medicine at Åbo, before working as a watchmaker for some years in London, and then as the personal clerk of Solander. He was engaged by Banks as his secretary for the expedition and appears to have had no formal art training.⁶⁴ Tupaia, a priest and navigator from Raiatea, joined the ship in Tahiti at the instigation of Banks.⁶⁵ Formerly identified only as 'the unknown artist,' Tupaia has been revealed to have had what Banks described as a natural talent for caricature.⁶⁶ That the unknown artist was permitted access to watercolours for his use, unlike the ethnological studies of Parkinson, seems to support a theory that he was indulged by Banks; but Tupaia clearly had no formal training in producing European styled art.

⁶¹ Smith, 1992, p. 63.

⁶² Smith, 1988, p. 12.

⁶³ Smith, 1992, p. 43.

⁶⁴ Joppien and Smith, Vol. 1, pp. 75-6.

⁶⁵ Joseph Banks, 1962. *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks, 1768 – 1771*, ed. J.C. Beaglehole, Vol. 1, pp. 312-13.

⁶⁶ Harold B. Carter, 1998. 'Note on the Drawings by an Unknown Artist from the Voyage of HMS *Endeavour*' in *Science and Exploration in the Pacific: European Voyages to the Southern Oceans in the 18th Century*, ed. Margarette Lincoln, Boydell Press, Woodbridge, Suffolk, pp. 133-4. Carter quotes a letter Banks: '... Tupai the Indian who came with me from Otaheite Learnd to draw in a way not Quite unintelligible The genius for Caricature which all wild people Possess Led him to Caricature me and he drew me with a nail in my hand delivering it to an Indian who sold me a Lobster but with my other hand I had a firm fist on the Lobster determined not to Quit the nail till I had Livery and Seizin of the article purchased.' Sir Joseph Banks, 1812 Letter to Dawson Turner FRS, Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, Banks Collection, MS 82. That the image shows the exchange of a piece of white cloth rather than a nail for the lobster suggests only a slight lapse of memory on the part of Banks after forty-three years, and does not detract from his identification of Tupaia as the formerly unknown artist.

In contrast, the credentials of William Hodges are well established. Twenty-eight year old Hodges (1744-1797) was the official artist on Cook's second voyage in 1772, replacing the Italian, Johan Zoffany, whom Banks had intended to be part of his entourage. Like Parkinson, Hodges was inexperienced in figure drawing.⁶⁷ He initially came under the influence of Shipley, then became a pupil of and assistant to the landscape painter Richard Wilson. He exhibited regularly at the Society of Arts between 1766 and 1772.⁶⁸ Better equipped than Parkinson, Hodges worked in a broader range of media. He used pencil, ink, wash and watercolour for coastal profiles, and both watercolour and oil for the landscapes which were his forte. However, he avoided drawing full length figures, and limited his figure work to head and shoulder portraits that were predominantly of red crayon and chalk, or infrequently, oil on canvas.⁶⁹ Following the voyage, Hodges was engaged by the Admiralty in 1774 to complete drawings and paintings of the expedition, and became a member of the Royal Academy.

The official artist of the third voyage in 1777, John Webber (1751-93), was unique in being equally competent in both figure and landscape work.⁷⁰ As a youth of sixteen years in Berne, he had been apprenticed to the renowned Swiss landscape painter, Johann Aberli. After three years, Webber moved to study in Paris under a German artist and engraver named Johann Wille. During his four years there he became acquainted with the sentimental mode of the French rural style and the greater realism of the Dutch method; he went to classes at the *École des Beaux-Arts*, where he learned to paint in oils and may have attended classes in life drawing. It was there he is believed to have been influenced by the neo-mannerist style of Joseph Marie Vien.⁷¹ He returned to England in 1775 and attended the Royal Academy School. The following year, a portrait he exhibited at the Academy led to his inclusion on the voyage.⁷² Some of his group scenes based around Queen Charlotte Sound display elements of mannerism in the heightening and elongation of his figures; however, as Smith points out 'the presence of a dominant style or convention ... does not preclude the conveyance of ethnographic

⁶⁷ Smith, 1992, p. 35. Hodges had studied at Shipley's school in the Strand before turning to landscape painting.

⁶⁸ Smith, 1992, p. 35. Auckland City Art Gallery, 1964, p. 5.

⁶⁹ He may have followed Wilson who also used crayon for drawing, or he may have been planning future publication. Crayon was a suitable medium to be rendered by the recently developed processes of soft-ground etching and stipple engraving in England. Smith, 1992, pp. 66-67.

⁷⁰ Smith, 1992, p. 47.

⁷¹ Smith, 1987, pp. 20-21; 1992, pp. 194-195. In 1776 Vien became head of the French School at Rome, and a book on anatomy for the use of pupils of that establishment was on board the *Resolution* when she sailed.

⁷² Auckland City Art Gallery, 1964, p. 5.

information'.⁷³ Webber's work was widely reproduced after the return of the expedition and he ultimately became a member of the Royal Academy.

Although Webber was the last of the official artists accompanying the voyages of Cook, a second artist on Cook's final voyage was William Webb Ellis (c. 1756-85). Ellis was believed to have gained some medical experience at St Bartholomew's Hospital in London,⁷⁴ but is not known to have had any formal art training.⁷⁵

The evidence shows that all the key artists of Cook's expeditions had varying degrees of training and proficiency. Although their talents and particular expertise were diverse, their drawings produced unique and important contributions to the documentation of people, places and objects. Although it is curious that they made few images of women, their skills can be seen as sufficient to allow their field studies and empirical works to be considered as potential sources of ethnological data.

EIGHTEENTH CENTURY REPRODUCTIONS

Unfortunately, the same potential of reliability as sources of ethnological data cannot be ascribed to eighteenth century reproductions of the field studies. Works that were selected for publication after the return of Cook's expeditions to England were processed by specialist draftsmen who were never in New Zealand, and whose professional success was reliant on their compliance with the artistic dictates of their age. In consequence, the accuracy of the works suffered and some authenticity was lost.

The importance of graphic evidence increased substantially during the years of Cook's expeditions. The role of 'official artist' as distinct from other graphic artists grew from the personal aspirations of Banks, and his privately employed team of individuals. All of the three major artists on Cook's voyages had sufficient training to ensure they could maintain the tasks required of them; some, like Parkinson, achieved much more.

⁷³ Smith, 1987, p. 23.

⁷⁴ Joppien and Smith, Vol. 3, p. 204.

⁷⁵ Ellis should not be confused with William Ellis (1747-1810) who subsequently engraved plates for the official account of Cook's third voyage.

SECTION C: The Russian Evidence

THE VOYAGE RATIONALE

Forty-three years after Cook's last voyage the Russian Bellingshausen-Lazarev Antarctic Expedition arrived in New Zealand. The two vessels, *Vostók* and *Mirnyy*, spent ten days in New Zealand visiting Motuara Island and staying at Queen Charlotte Sound for seven days in June 1820. This expedition was unique in being the only European contact of its type with South Island Maori in the early nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Although as early as 1705 the Russian reading public had the opportunity of seeing an illustration of a Maori canoe by Nicolaes Witsen,⁷⁷ based on the drawing by Gilsemans, Russian exploration in the Pacific was heavily influenced by the achievements of Captain Cook. In October 1778, Cook had approached the eastern borders of the Russian Empire at Unalaska Island, alerting the Government of Catherine II to the potential of foreign intervention in established trading practices.⁷⁸ Professional links between Russian and British naval officers were strong in the latter part of the eighteenth century, and continued into the nineteenth century, maintaining the acknowledgement of Cook as a great navigator and commander.⁷⁹ Publications of his voyages in many languages ensured that the work of Cook was widely known in Europe, and served to inspire the scientific emphases of ventures of exploration.⁸⁰

Faddey Faddeyevich Bellingsgauzen, otherwise known as Fabian Gottlieb von Bellingshausen (1778 – 1852) was appointed to lead the Russian enterprise. He was well experienced in his naval career when he received his orders from the Naval Ministry; charged to enter the Pacific by specific route and season, and to explore southwards and engage in scientific work.⁸¹ He was also instructed to keep detailed records and to:

... pass over nothing new, useful or curious that you may chance to see – and this applies not only to things bearing on the naval sciences, but also in the broad sense, to such matters as may widen any area of human knowledge.

During the expedition, Bellingshausen completed ten methodically written notebooks of his observations that were handed in to his superiors on his return to Russia.⁸²

⁷⁶Glynn Barratt, 1979. *Bellingshausen a visit to New Zealand: 1820*. The Dunbar Press Limited, Palmerston North, pp. ix, 24.

⁷⁷Barratt, 1979 n, p. 172.

⁷⁸Barratt, 1979, p. 2.

⁷⁹Barratt, 1979, pp. 1-3.

⁸⁰Barratt, 1979, p. 2.

⁸¹Barratt, 1979, p. 11.

⁸²Barratt, 1979, pp. 16-7.

THE GRAPHIC ARTIST

Pavel Nikolayevich Mikhaylov (1780 - 1840), was appointed as the graphic artist to accompany the expedition. As with Gilsemans, there were expectations of the work of Mikhaylov:

The graphic artist shall sketch all noteworthy places visited, and shall portray native peoples and their dress and games. All collections of whatsoever kind, all descriptions, sketches and such like shall, at the conclusion of the voyage, be handed by the artist or artists to the commander of the (southern)⁸³ Division who shall present everything without exception to His Majesty the Emperor, through the Naval Minister.⁸⁴

As yet, no details as to the training of Mikhaylov have been located. It has been suggested that like Parkinson before him, Mikhaylov may have been unskilled at human portraiture, and more talented at the portrayal of flora and avi-fauna.⁸⁵ On the basis of images recently published, this intimation seems unfounded.⁸⁶

REPRODUCTIONS AND OTHER STUDIES

On the return of the expedition to Kronstadt, Mikhaylov gave his commanding officer an album containing 47 sketches. Of these, 30 were later published in 1831.⁸⁷ Two images were reproduced by lithographer I. P. Fridrits between 1823-24.⁸⁸ One additional image was produced in the 1949 Moscow publication of Bellingshausen's expedition. Mikhaylov's album is now kept in the Central State Russian Museum, Leningrad.⁸⁹ However, Mikhaylov also gave other sketches made on loose sheets of drawing paper to the expeditionary astronomer, ethnologist and physicist, Ivan Mikhaylovich Simonov (1794-1855). Simonov subsequently accepted an appointment at the University at Kazan', where the drawings he received from Mikhaylov now form part of the Simonov Ethnological Collection in the University Main Library.⁹⁰

⁸³ Bellingshausen's expedition was the southern section of a double pronged exploration of both North and South Pacific. Barratt, 1979, pp. 8-9.

⁸⁴ Barratt, 1979, pp.24-25, quoting Bellingshausen, 1960. 3rd edition. *Dvukratnyye izyskaniya v Yuzhnom Ledovitom okeane i plavaniye vokrug sveta, v prodolzheniye 1819, 1820 i 21 godov, svershennyye na shlyupakh 'Vostoke' i Mirnom'* ... Moscow.

⁸⁵ Barratt, 1979, p.25.

⁸⁶ Refer Barratt, (ed.) 1987, *Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand: the Traditional and European records, 1820*. Carleton University Press, Ottawa, Canada, pp. 32-3.

⁸⁷ They were included in the separately published Atlas that supplemented the publication of *Dvukratnyye izyskaniya v Yuzhnom Ledovitom okeane i plavaniye vokrug sveta, v prodolzheniye 1819, 1820 i 21 godov, svershennyye na shlyupakh 'Vostoke' i Mirnom'* (Repeated Exploration in the Southern Icy Ocean and a Voyage Round the World in 1819, 1820, 1821) in St Petersburg in 1831.

⁸⁸ These are: *War Dances of New Zealand South, in Queen Charlotte Sound, and The Main Settlement of New Zealand South in Queen Charlotte Sound*; these images have been published in Barratt, 1979.

⁸⁹ TsGIA Tsentral'nyy Gosudarstvennyy Istoricheskiy Arkhiv (Central State Historical Archive) Archive Reference: R-29001-29308. Barratt, 1979, p. 25.

⁹⁰ Barratt, 1979, pp. 14, 25. These have not been published, and attempts are currently being made to locate information about them through the New Zealand embassy in Moscow.

Mikhaylov is the final official draughtsman whose New Zealand work is able to advance present understanding of traditional Maori dress. His voyage concludes the group of early European explorers whose evidence is re-examined for this research. Documentary evidence has established that Russian expectations of Bellinghausen's expedition were no less predetermined than the British and Dutch expeditions had been before it.

CONCLUSION

Evidence shows that the rationale of European exploration in the Pacific between the years of 1642 to 1820 always had a specific, underlying objective, whether commercially or scientifically based. Graphic evidence became an important part of the documentary process. The collected data of official journals was crucial for the future decision-making policies of the expeditionary parent bodies; detailed records were enhanced with the inclusion of appropriate images. Given the rationale for the various voyages, the selection of suitably skilled, reliable graphic artists to observe and record the experience was of paramount importance. Although their work furnishes unequal amounts of information, the designated artists are equally reliable; their images, in particular their field studies, are sufficiently trustworthy sources of ethnographical data to sustain an argument.

CHAPTER 3 HAIRSTYLES AND BEARDS

In all societies, the manner in which hair is worn communicates a range of information about the wearer. The presence or absence of hair, its abundance, length, colour, and manner of dressing are indicators of such factors as the gender, social status, age, and sexual availability of the individual. The wearing of beards also furnishes information about the wearer and his society.

Although Maori hairdressing has recorded a wide variety of style identified by a range of different names, in the past there has been no attempt to analyse them. Hairstyle was known to be a *tohu*, a sign of status, or a mark of identification. The hair of an individual was a medium of personal representation. However, hairstyle has been neglected in the literature to the extent that Maori terminologies have been clumped together as if they were interchangeable names for the same style. European writers have interpreted the names of indigenous tied or knotted hairstyles in general terms, as non-specific 'topknots'. This imprecise terminology was continued by Maori ethnologists:

The Maori followed the Polynesian custom of the men wearing their hair long and tying it in a large topknot.¹

...on Tasman's evidence, hairstyle consisted of a topknot decorated by one long feather. By 1769 when Cook arrived the hair style of the Classical Period had changed slightly to a topknot, two or three white feathers, plus a decorative comb.²

As a consequence of this over-simplification, the idea has developed over the last two hundred years that the customary hairstyle for the Maori male consisted exclusively of a 'topknot' dressed with feathers and sometimes a *heru*. Maori female hairstyles have been virtually ignored, and a popular assumption has been adopted of a convention of long, loose hair. At the same time it has come to be generally accepted that Maori men did not have beards.

A close examination of the evidence does not support these widespread assumptions. This chapter rediscovers the diversity of male hairstyle in oral tradition. Within the limitations of material evidence, it explores Maori self expression through the medium of carving. It goes on to ascertain the variety of hairstyle in documentary and graphic evidence of eighteenth and nineteenth century European expeditions and demonstrates that this variety could not only identify status but also indicate where the wearer came from. It follows this by establishing that a large proportion of men wore beards during that period. Likewise, it examines the available evidence of women's hairstyle and argues that

¹ Buck, 1977, p. 284.

in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, more Maori women wore short hair than long. This re-examination of the evidence demonstrates that the restrictive designation of 'topknot' not only fails to acknowledge the importance of hairstyle as an element of dress, but also ignores the variety of styles that existed during this period of initial contact.

SECTION A: Traditional evidence

VARIETIES OF MEN'S HAIRSTYLE

Close scrutiny of traditional evidence indicates that hairstyle was significant in Maori society, and that in legends, the hair of chiefs was worn in a wide range of styles.

The Te Arawa story of Hatupatu as he rallied his fabricated³ group of warriors gives six variations of long hairstyle. Hatupatu tricked both his brothers and their common enemy into believing this company of warriors was supported by a number of noble chiefs, when in fact there was only one, himself. He did this by changing his hairstyle and garments, and appearing in different places. First he wore his long hair tied up in four tikitiki ('knots'⁴ or 'clubs') with a bunch of feathers stuck in each. Then, he loosened all the knots, leaving a single tikitiki over the centre of his forehead. For his third appearance, he took all the knots and feathers out of his hair, leaving his hair loose without adornment. His fourth style had his hair in a puhi (tied like a sheaf)⁵ decorated with feathers, at the back of his head. For his fifth appearance he wore two puhi above his temples. In his final disguise, his hair was tied in five puhi bunches, adorned with feathers.⁶

A fuller description of a tikitiki style is found in Rata's story of reprisal for the death of his father Wahieroa. It was the regular hairdressing routine of the villain Matukutakotako that gave Rata his opportunity to catch the killer unawares. Matukutakotako used two pools of water, one to wash his hair in, the other as a mirror. When he came to the first pool, he loosened the ties that bound up his tikitiki and shook out his makawe (ringlets or long locks of hair) before plunging his head into the water.⁷ Williams gives rino makawe as a wavy frizzled lock of hair;

² Mead, 1969, p. 27.

³ He had no warriors but assembled bunches of plants in an area to look like his fighting force.

⁴ Williams, p. 417. tikitiki 2. *Topknot*, in dressing the hair.

⁵ Williams, p. 304. puhi (i). 1. n. *Topknot*; a method of wearing the hair tied up on the top of the head like a sheaf.

⁶ Sir George Grey, n.d. *Polynesian Mythology*..., p. 144. 1971, *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, Wellington, p. 87.

⁷ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 68-69. '...ka tuturi nga turi ki tana wai heru, ka wewete i tona tikitiki, ka ru i ona makawe, ta tupou ki roto ki te wai.' *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, p. 47.

the use of 'rino', meaning a twisted cord of two or more strands, suggests that makawe were dreadlocks.

In the Ngati Ruanui tradition, when Tamatea arrived at Whanganui, he dressed his hair in a putiki.⁸ In order to create a suitable appearance before the local inhabitants, the story tells:

... he sat down ... to comb his head, and also to adorn himself...,so he put his hair up in knots on his head, and tied it with the bark of the herb called whara ... and hence the origin of the name of that place which is now called "Putiki-whara-nui-o-tama-tea"....⁹

A Ngati Mahuta story gives another instance of a chief creating his hairstyle as part of his appearance. The customary practice of reciprocal hospitality was thwarted when Tu Hourangi and his escort party made an impromptu visit to the Waikato domain of Kapu. The disadvantaged Kapu was discovered alone, roasting young shoots of the korau (tree fern) indicating a diminished food supply. His appearance was dirty and he was not recognised by the visitors who asked him, 'Where is Kapu?' Pretending to be someone else, he volunteered to fetch Kapu. He went off and gathered his people together, but they waited while 'he washed himself, combed his hair, tied it up in a tiki (topknot) [sic]' and put on a huru kuri (type of dogskin cloak) before they returned to the visitors.¹⁰

Other stories tell of eight knots or plaits. In a Ngai Tahu story of Tinirau, when the chief is informed of the destruction of his home, one of the two assailants is identified as a man who 'has eight tuki (knobs of hair) on his neck.'¹¹ Smith uses the term 'kaki' to describe the point at which twists of hair were tied.¹² These stories emphasise the variety of numbers, size and placement of tied or knotted bunches of hair that were part of traditional Maori culture.

The variety of hairstyle was not limited simply to knots; in some cases the quantity of hair was significant. A tradition of Kahungunu describes a style of seven plaits¹³ that contained a large mass of hair.

He...got the 7 knots or plaits of his hair taken down, and still kept in plaits he had them all held above his head, and tied in a lump on the top of his head, the upper ends of the plaits were allowed to wave clear of each other, but where the roots of the plaits meet at the top of his head he had them all tied in one being bound round with the prepared bark of the aute

⁸ Williams, p. 317. A method of dressing the hair in a knob on the top of the head, adopted by chiefs. He kakahu kura te kakahu, he putiki te upoko.

⁹ White, *AMH*, Vol. 8, p. 100. This name can be translated as 'Tamatea's putiki (tied with) wharanui'.

¹⁰ White, *AMH*, Vol. 5, p. 63.

¹¹ White, *AMH*, Vol. 2, p. 132.

¹² S. P. Smith, 1893. 'The Peopling of the North: Notes on the Ancient Maori History of the Northern Peninsula and sketches of the History of the Ngati-Whatua Tribe of Kaipara, New Zealand: "Heru-Hapainga"' in Supplement to the *JPS* December, 1893, Vol. 2, pp.44-5.

¹³ It is acknowledged that these 'plaits' may not be those familiar in European hairstyles.

tree, his hair was of such a quantity that one piece of the aute bark would not go round this knot.¹⁴

Although the description is indeterminate, the story makes a point of the considerable mass of Kahungunu's hair. A similar Ngati Whatua story of Kahuunuunu¹⁵ endorses this emphasis on the bulk of the chief's hairstyle. This rendition says the hair was bound in a seven-strand rope and twisted around the head as a koukou (hair dressed in a knot on the top of the head),¹⁶ and the seven ends of hair were left flying on each side. 'The neck (kaki) of the twists were tied with aute bark. His head was so big that a single length of aute would not go round it.'¹⁷ This large wrapped hairstyle had a precedent in the story of Rupe visiting Rehua in the tenth heaven.

... presently he observed that Rehua was slowly loosening the thick bands which enveloped his locks around and upon the top of his head: and when his long locks all floated loosely, he shook the dense masses of his hair, and forth from them came flying flocks of the Tui birds, which had been nestling there....¹⁸

Tuhoe tradition tells of a style supported on a frame which must also have added to its size. This distinctive hairstyle served as a tohu by which its owner could be recognised. When Kahuki set out to avenge the death of his father, his mother Rangiparoro directed him to the pa of her uncle Ruapururu across the Tauranga river. She said, 'You cannot mistake Ruapururu. He wears his hair braided in eight plaits.'¹⁹ When Kahuki reached the location, he observed an old man weeding his kumara garden. He knew he had found his great-uncle when he saw that this man's hair was plaited in eight strands and turned up over a wooden frame on the top of his head.²⁰ These stories suggest that apart from the construction of the hairstyle, there was some other cultural significance relating to the abundance of hair.

In contrast, there are few traditions of men with short hair. One instance occurs when Whakatau-potiki seeks to avenge the murder of his brother Tuwhakararo. Because he was known by many of the enemy, his sister Mairatea advised him,

¹⁴ White, n.d. Vol. 10, MS Papers 75 (B No.1 White) (51), (B No.1 White) (52). The text continues 'The aute bark was taken off the tree in one piece and beaten with a paol, so that each piece obtained from one piece of aute wood is not of any large dimensions, as the bark is only good, and can be used when the tree is not bigger than a child's wrist....'

¹⁵ S. Percy Smith, 1910. *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*. Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, pp. 123-4. Smith is adamant that this 'Kahu-unu-unu' was the leader of Ngati-Kahu, a subtribe of Ngati Awa, who travelled from Whangaroa through Waikato, Whaingaroa, Mokau and Mimi to Taranaki, and not the same Kahungunu, son of Tamatea who was born at Kaitia around 1450.

¹⁶ Williams, p. 151. Dress the hair in a knot on the top of the head. Ao ake te ra katahi ka whitiki, ka koukou, ka tia ki te raukawa, ka pani ki te kokowai, ki te ngarahu, ki te pukepoto hoki.

¹⁷ Smith, 1893, pp.44-5.

¹⁸ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 60-1.

¹⁹ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe*... Vol. 1, p. 99.

'You had better cut your hair quite short to disguise yourself.' When he agreed, his sister cut it for him,²¹ but understanding how this style may have afforded a disguise for Whakatau-potiki is uncertain. That so few stories mention men with short hair suggests that this was not a particularly desirable style nor the usual practice of heroic or ancestral figures.

VARIETIES OF WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLE

Less is known about the variety of female hairstyles because few traditions include descriptions of the ways in which women wore their hair. However, some important women of legend had long hair that was worn in knotted styles. Taranga, the mother of Maui, was reputed to have worn her hair in a tikitiki. This was reflected in the name of her son, Maui-tikitiki-o-Taranga (Maui-formed-in-the-tikitiki-of-Taranga), and commonly explained as the topknot of her hair in which she had disposed of the aborted foetus that subsequently became Maui.²² This topknot has become the standard interpretation of Maui's name, notwithstanding other renditions such as the Tuhoe tradition that Maui was wrapped in the piece of aute that Taranga had taken from her hair,²³ or the Ngati Porou tradition that her tikitiki was a form of maro or girdle that Taranga wore.²⁴

Other references to women with long hairstyles exist. Tawhiki, as he ascended heavenwards saw the ancestress Maikukumakaka 'forming her hair in knobs on the top of her head.'²⁵ In a version of the departure of the Arawa canoe from Hawaiki, Kearoa, the wife of the Tainui tohunga, chief Ngatoroirangi, wore her hair in a tiki. The tohunga was mistrustful of Tamatekapua who had already abducted the wife of Ruaeo. In a futile attempt to prevent Kearoa being seduced by Tamatekapua, Ngatoroirangi attached a long cord to her topknot and kept hold of the other end.²⁶ The island of Herekopare, off Stewart Island, was named for a Waitaha chieftainess named Mahihi who had long hair. Before she disembarked she bound up her hair, so the island was named 'Te-hereka-o-te-kopare-o-Mahihi' (the tying of the hair band of Mahihi), which has since been abbreviated to Herekopare.²⁷

²⁰ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe...* Vol. 1, pp. 100-101.

²¹ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 77.

²² Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 12-13. White, 1887. *AMH*, Vol. 2, p. 92.

²³ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe...* Vol. 1, p. 935.

²⁴ A. Reedy, 1993. *Ngā Kōrero a Mohi Ruatapu ...*, p. 119.

²⁵ White, *AMH*, Vol. 1, p. 63.

²⁶ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 102-4. White, 1887. *AMH*, Vol. 2, p. 186.

²⁷ H. Beattie, 'Traditions and Legends. Collected from the Natives of Murihiku.' (Southland, New Zealand.) Part IX, in *JPS*, 28, pp. 42-51. (p. 49.)

Maikukumakaka, Kearoa and Mahihi were women of some status. However, long hair was not always an indication of a woman having or maintaining status. A Ngapuhi story tells of young women kept as slaves and wives to a war party. These women were made to prepare flax so that the fibres could be plaited into their long hair, thereby giving their captors a rope to each woman so she could be led about at will.²⁸

PROTOCOLS OF HAIRDRESSING

The capacity to dress someone's hair was determined by protocol. The head, and thus the hair, of a high ranking person was intensely tapu.²⁹ Therefore, only people who would not be adversely affected by that tapu could dress the hair of a highly born individual. Without a suitable attendant, in extreme cases the hair could not be kept clean, nor could it be kept in order.³⁰ Mythologies give some indications of the practice of hairdressing, of who could perform the task, and what was used.

A chief could dress his own hair. In Ngati Hau and Ngati Mahuta stories of Tamatea-pokaiwhenua, it is the chief himself who 'combed his hair, and tied it up in tufts on the top of his head....'³¹ A chief could also dress the hair of his well-born sons. In the story of Ruatapu, his father Uenuku dresses the hair of a number of high ranking young men.

Ue-nuku ordered his sons and the sons of other chiefs to assemble in order that the hair of their heads might be combed and anointed and tied up in a knot on the crown of the head and ornamented with a high dress-comb stuck in behind, that it might be regular and look beautiful Ue-nuku performed this work of preparing and dressing and tying up their hair.³²

A tohunga was able to dress the hair of an important chief. One tradition tells of the tohunga dressing the waist-length hair of Kahungunu during his migration south from Whangaroa:

...by which time the sacred head of Kahu-nunu the hair of which not having been cut, had become so long that it waved about and down over his back like the shreds of a kori or a ngere mat, this he did not care for ... Kahu-nunu got his priest to comb the gangled mass of his hair and plait it into seven plaits, these he tied up in a knot at the back of his head....³³

A chief's hair could be dressed by his wife. A Ngati Porou story tells how Hinepuariari dressed the hair of her husband Kahungunu:

She combed it all day, and on the morrow combed it again, and not until then was she able to form it into a *putiki* (top-knot). So she held it between her knees and rubbed it with oil which she held in a *paua* (*Haliotis*) shell, and not till she had used the contents of ten shells was the

²⁸ White, n.d. *AMH*, Vol. 10, MS Papers 75 (B No.3 White) (138), (B No.1 White) (144).

²⁹ Buck, 1949. 'The hair of a chief or priest was tapu as the head was the most tapu part of the body'. p. 502.

³⁰ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe*... Vol. 1, p. 1113.

³¹ White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 79.

³² White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, pp. 23-24.

³³ White, n.d. Vol. 10, MS Papers 75 (B No.1 White) (51), (B No.1 White) (52).

hair limp enough to allow her to bind it with flax, but the flax broke as she bound it round the hair. He asked her to fetch his girdle. The flax of which it was made was grown at Tauranga. With this girdle she was able to tie his hair.³⁴

This story not only indicates the process of hairdressing, but also supports the factor of hair volume being important.³⁵ That there are so many stories relating to hairstyle gives some indication of its significance in traditional Maori society.

BEARDS

In contrast, there appear to be few traditions about beards although some ancestral names suggest them. A Ngai Tahu tradition speaks of an eponymous ancestor Kumikumimaroro, whose name White gives as meaning 'strong beard'.³⁶ Tainui tradition records Pahau, from Kawhia, who destroyed Ngati Te Taranga mussel beds³⁷ and then overcame Ngati-raukura at Maro kopa;³⁸ 'pahau' meaning 'mussels', but also 'pāhau' meaning 'beard', or beard-like growths. That there are no substantial traditions about beards or bearded individuals suggests that these may be generic names. The general lack of evidence suggests that beards were of less importance in Maori society.

ETHNOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Traditional evidence demonstrates the significance of tied hairstyles in Maori society by the number of different terms that are used, as for example the tikitiki of Matukukatokato, the puhi of Hatupatu, the putiki of Tamatea, the tiki of Kapu and

³⁴ White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, pp. 83-86.

³⁵ Inappropriate treatment of hair held further jeopardy for the imprudent. As hairdressing carried potential danger, so the act of haircutting placed the agent, him or herself, into a tapu state. The purenga, or ceremonial removal of this hazardous state, could be achieved by the use of cooked food. When hair from the head of a man or woman was cut it, it could be put in a fire, together with a piece of fern-root. When the fern-root was roasted it was kept as a charm to protect the possessor from harm. The cooked food removed the danger of tapu. White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 104. Some haircutting was accompanied with a feast. However, the association of hair with uncooked food was a highly undesirable concept, with implications that the source of the hair might become a food resource. At the feast for the cutting of Manaia's hair, when some of the food was not properly cooked, Manaia blamed his wives Kuku and Hoata, and cursed their brother Ngatoroirangi, ultimately leading to war between them. White, *AMH*, Refer Ch. 10, n.p. An incident from the Ngati Kahungunu stories of Tamatea at Tauranga tells how Tamatea, making a net with his son Kahungunu, 'braided some of the hair of (his wife) Iwi, ... into it' thereby insulting both the mother and son. White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 75. The wife of Ngati Hau ancestor Au Kehu significantly insulted her husband when combing his hair. She suggested that it would make a suitable substitute for the leaves or mat to place food on, in the base of a hangi. This offensive remark ultimately led to her destruction when she and her whanau were consumed by the taniwha Tutaeporoporo in the Whanganui harbour. White, *AMH*, Vol. 8, Refer Tutaeporoporo and Au-Kehu (190) n.p. Finally, a Nga Puhi tradition tells of disastrous consequences that arose from neglecting the importance of separating items linked with hair from uncooked food. When the ancestor Ruanui made the mistake of cutting up a beached whale with a piece of obsidian that had been used to cut the hair of Nukutawhiti, his action so angered Mumuteawha, the god of whales, that no whales have since been stranded along that Hokianga coastline. White, *AMH*, Vol. 10, Refer (18) (A 1) n.p.

³⁶ White, *AMH*, Vol. 1, Errata page. Refer p. 171.

³⁷ White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 85.

the *koukou* of Kahungunu (refer *Varieties of men's hairstyle*). Ethnologists collected further details. Additional names are recorded with translations supplied by Williams: the *arakiore*³⁹ (rat path) which might suggest a balding area; *kou*⁴⁰ (a knob of hair when dressed on top of the head;); *ngoi*⁴¹ (a topknot, a method of dressing the hair;); *piki*⁴² (a method of dressing the hair in a roll on the top of the head, a sign of rank;); *rahiri*⁴³ (tied up like a sheath). The term *rapa*⁴⁴ identified the custom of wearing the hair unkempt as a sign of *tapu*. *Rapa mamae*⁴⁵ was the same custom, the hair as a sign of mourning, generally for one whose death was not yet avenged. Possibly a post contact variation, the style termed *reureu* or *tiotio* had a long lock or plait of hair which hung at the left temple while the rest of the hair was shaven or closely cropped.⁴⁶

All these terms may once have identified specific styles. Alternatively, some may have reflected regional variations, or been localised alternatives for the same style (for example, the *putiki*, *puhi*, and *rahiri*); but the distinctions are no longer clear, and the available descriptions do not concur. Although collected ethnological evidence comes from oral sources and offers some details of hairstyle, by the time this data was being gathered, all researchers were completely reliant on recollected information.

Percy Smith gathered some information pertaining to the large hairstyle that was supported on a frame:

I learned from the Urewera people that this was an old custom, but long since gone out of fashion. The hair of chiefs in former days was often allowed to grow so long that it reached to the waist. It was then plaited into eight strands and wound round the head on a framework of *pirita*, or *supplejack*, the ends being turned up on the top of the head where they formed the *koukou*, or top-knot.⁴⁷

Tregear had similar information, but did not indicate his source. He said the *koukou* was supported by a frame of *supple-jack* (*kareao* or *pirita*); the hair was divided into

³⁸ White, *AMH*, Vol. 4, pp. 85-90.

³⁹ Williams, p. 14.

⁴⁰ Williams, p. 150.

⁴¹ Williams, p. 234. *Ka ngoia te mahunga.*

⁴² Williams, p. 234. *He tohu ano i te mahunga o taua tangata, he heru iwi, he piki, he kotuku.* p. 280. Grey, *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, p. 154.

⁴³ Tregear, p. 242.

⁴⁴ Williams, p. 525. *No Hotunui, ara no Hoturapa, mo te rapa o ona makawe i tona tapu.*

⁴⁵ Williams, p. 325.

⁴⁶ Williams, p. 325. *Katahi ka tipia ake, pa tonu ki tetahi taha o te reureu.* Tregear, p. 243. Tregear includes this style in a paragraph on women's hair styles; however, sketches by H. Robson seen in the National Museum in Canberra, as well as illustrations in White's *Ancient Maori History* show this style worn by men. While the lock hangs down on the right side of the face in White's image, it should be remembered that this image has been reversed in publication, as can be verified by the artist's signature initials.

⁴⁷ S.P. Smith, 1893. *F/n*, p. 44.

eight plaits that were wound around the frame, then the ends were turned up on the top of the head.⁴⁸

These descriptions of the same style were at complete variance with those of Best (some twenty years later), who made no mention of any type of frame. Best stated that the *koukou* was formed by gathering the hair up on top of the head, where it was tied with a *tauhere*. This could be simply fibre, or sometimes a piece of aute was used. Best's description continued, 'The loose part of the hair was then doubled down, tucked in, and another tie put round it.'⁴⁹ Best's description is confusing; it is quite unclear whether the hair is folded down in front of the first tie, or behind it, or all around it.

Enough traditions exist to endorse a hairstyle, supported on a frame, worn by high status individuals at some point of history. The name of the frame was a *ranga*,⁵⁰ but the name of the style may never be known for certain.

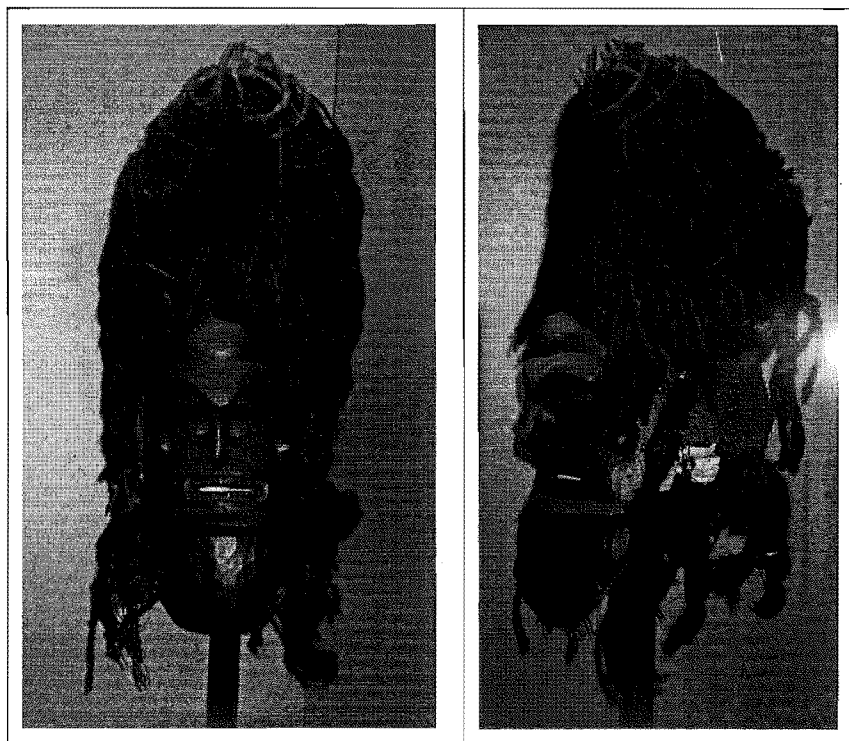


Figure 3.1 Kanak ceremonial mask, (left) front, (right) profile. Musée du Calédonie.

Hairstyles of this type have some ethnographic analogy elsewhere in the Pacific; an Austronesian example is found on a Kanak ceremonial mask held in the Musée du Calédonie (Figure 3.1). The framework is partially visible at the top of the mask,

⁴⁸ Tregear, 1904, p. 242.

⁴⁹ Best, 1924. *The Maori*. Vol 1.

beneath the dreadlocks of wrapped hair. This mask indicates the considerable volume of such a style. The use of a frame to create a similar style for hair in Maori tradition, as in the earlier story of Ruapururu, would also have created a significant mass in size.

Tregear identified the 'rahiri' as another style in which the hair was gathered up on the crown and tied, in this instance with a piece of aute. He described it as being like a sheaf,⁵¹ presumably comparing this to stooks of wheat, or similar cereal crops, as they were stood to dry during the nineteenth century. According to Tregear's information, the tikitiki was made by gathering the hair up on the crown, and then pushing it through a porowhita, a two inch circlet made from the akatea vine. The porowhita was pressed down towards the crown, the hair arranged uniformly around the ring, and the ends somehow brought up and tied underneath the ring.⁵²

The long lock or plait of hair that identified the reureu or tiotio style indicated that the wearer was in mourning; Williams noted that the lock of hair was on the right side if the deceased was a near relative.⁵³ Although White does not name this style, he includes a full description in one of his novels:

His hair was all cut off close, save a lock which he kept on the left side of his head above his ear. This lock had never been combed ... for years. It looked like a tangled mass of grass intermingled with earth. At intervals he put his hand up to slap or scratch that part of his head where he kept the lock of hair, in a vain attempt to deaden the tingling, itching sensation which seemed constantly to irritate it.⁵⁴

White's description is so lucid that it suggests that rather than relying on another's recollections, he had seen this style himself, perhaps in his youth.

Ethnologists gathered less information about women's hairstyles. Tregear stated that women generally wore their hair short in a mass of curls if they were unmarried, but that married women 'favoured plaits of long hair braided round the head,'⁵⁵ although no other ethnologist made similar assertions. However, White claimed that women cut their hair short as a sign of mourning. He recorded that, as the cause and manner of the death of friends or relatives was related in their village

⁵⁰ Williams, p. 322. Frame or comb on which the hair was dressed. He tikitiki tangata, ma te waewae e whai; he tikitiki uru, ma te ranga e putiki. (Proverb, source not specified).

⁵¹ Tregear, 1904, p. 242.

⁵² Tregear, 1904, p. 242.

⁵³ Williams, p. 325. Tregear, p. 243. Tregear includes this style in a paragraph on women's hair styles; however, sketches by H. Robson seen in the National Museum in Canberra, as well as illustrations in White's *Ancient Maori History* show this style worn by men. While the lock hangs down on the right side of the face in White's image, it should be remembered that this image has been reversed in publication, as can be verified by the artist's signature initials.

⁵⁴ White, 1874. *Te Rou*, p. 147.

⁵⁵ Tregear, 1904, p. 243.

by returning war parties, the women would 'recommence the low mournful wailing of the tangi, cutting their hair short off, and cutting and gashing themselves with pieces of obsidian'.⁵⁶

Characters from White's novels provide more detail, which also suggest he was recalling some incidents from his past: when a young male character describes women attending recently dead, with their hair cut so short that their heads look like 'the back of a singed dog', their hairstyle is explained as an expression of love for the deceased.⁵⁷ White also implied that this practice was not exclusive to women. After the death of a tohunga in his novel, all the members of a settlement demonstrate their 'love for him' by cutting off their hair to leave as an offering at his grave. This ritual apparently required the process to take place without people uttering a sound; men cutting each other's hair, as the women cut theirs. The hair of children that was too short to be cut with the tuhua (obsidian) was singed with a firebrand instead.⁵⁸

White's association of this style with mourning is upheld by evidence from Mrs Ngoungou, née Caroline Perrett. When her husband Ewa Ngaru died, in the early 1880s, her hair 'was cut off close into the scalp as a special sign of deep mourning' by the women of the gum-diggers' camp in accordance with their traditional custom.⁵⁹ White was probably recording observations of his youth during the mid 1830s in Hokianga, while Ngoungou was speaking of the nearby Kaipara region some fifty years later. Whether this practice was regional or widespread is unclear, nor whether it was more prevalent amongst women or people of lesser rank, rather than amongst chiefs.

Traditional and ethnological evidence has shown that hair and hairstyle have a long history of significance in Maori society, and that varieties of styles were considerable. Stories have demonstrated how hairstyle was frequently an indication of male status, and sometimes a mark of identification, but at the same time they have contributed very little about bearded men. The fact that there has been less available information about the hairstyles of women suggests that female

⁵⁶ White, John, 1861. *Maori Customs and Superstitions. Being the Subject of Two Lectures delivered at the Mechanics' Institute, in Auckland, during the Year 1861.* p. 182.

⁵⁷ White, 1874. *Te Rou*, p. 265.

⁵⁸ White, 1874. *Te Rou*, pp. 336-338.

⁵⁹ Bentley, Trevor, 1999. *Pakeha Maori: the extraordinary story of the Europeans who lived as Maori in early New Zealand.* Penguin Books (NZ) Ltd. Appendix: My Life Among the Maoris, pp. 226-235. From *The Sun*, Auckland, 27 July 1929. Caroline Perrett disappeared from Lepperton as a child; she grew up and married among Maori in the Kaipara gum fields. She was re-identified in Whakatane after 55 years.

hairstyle may have been a less important factor in Maori society for some time, but it may also reflect the male orientation of nineteenth century ethnologists.

SECTION B: Material evidence

ARCHAEOLOGICAL EVIDENCE

Despite the fact that human hair is slow to decompose, there appears to be virtually no material evidence of Maori hairstyle from excavated sites.⁶⁰ Although undated, there is, however, some fragmentary evidence in a story printed in 1864 concerning the discovery of a female skeleton in Otago.⁶¹ The body was that of a girl who had been placed with some ceremony on a thirty foot high rock; the skeleton of a toitoi (bird) still lay where it had been ritually placed between her knees. On one side her skin had gone leaving white bones. Her head was encased in a net, but some of the hair still remained and had been carefully plaited.⁶² According to the report, local Maori considered this 'burial' to have been from ancient times; that the ritual aspect of such 'burials' was not noted in nineteenth century sources supports their opinion. Whether the young woman's plaited hair was in actual fact 'plaited', as known today, or 'whiri'd' rather more like a dreadlock is unclear, as is the significance of the net about her head. Nonetheless, the inference from this fragment of evidence is that the young woman's hair must have had some length, and that it was also dressed.

CARVED EVIDENCE

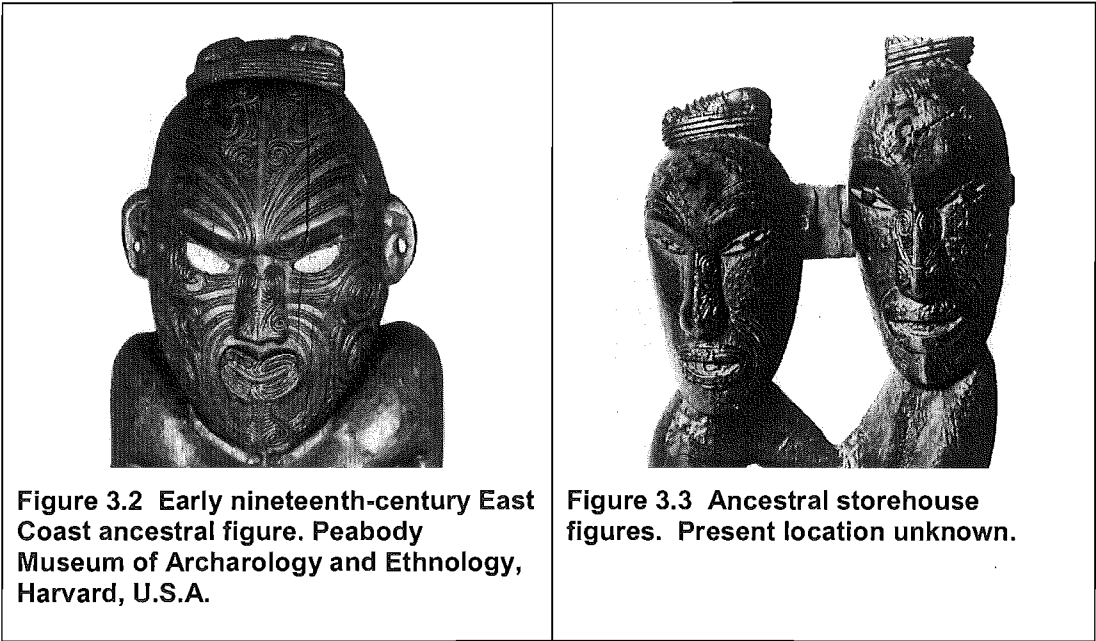
An additional form of material evidence of hairstyle is seen in Maori portrayal of themselves, in the carving of ancestral tekoteko and poutokumanawa figures. According to Peabody Museum records, the East Coast figure below (Figure 3.2) was deposited by Thomas Jefferson (d.1826), giving it an early nineteenth century provenance.⁶³ The carving shows an orderly hairstyle that appears to consist of two knots or clumps of hair, bound in place with more hair. Careful examination

⁶⁰ Archaeological evidence of female hairstyle of this period might have come from the burial cave on Mary Island in Lake Hauroro, but neither Trotter nor Simmons recorded any observations of hair in their respective descriptions of the remains found there. Refer M. M. Trotter, 1972. 'Investigation of a Maori Cave Burial on Mary Island, Lake Hauroro' in *Records of the Canterbury Museum*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 113 – 128. D. R. Simmons, 1968. 'The Lake Hauroro Burial and the Evolution of Maori Clothing' in *Records of the Otago Museum*, Anthropology Number 5, January 1968, pp. 1 – 40. Despite presence of some connecting tissue, neck muscles, and teeth, both Trotter and Simmons have since confirmed that there was no evidence of the woman's hair. Personal communications, December 2001

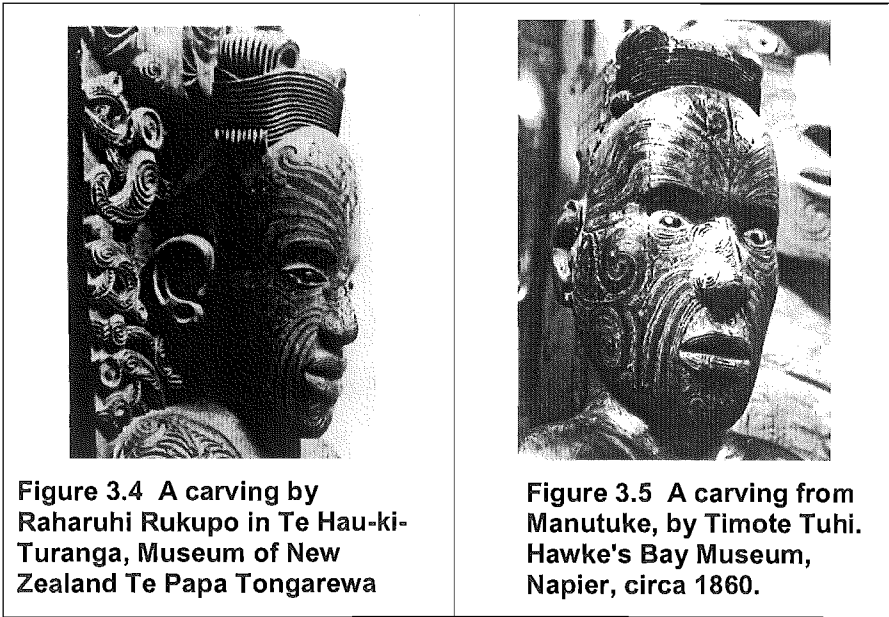
⁶¹ L. F. Head, 1990. 'The Face on the Rock' in *Te Karanga*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp.10-11. Translated from 'Otakou' in *Te Waka Maori o Ahuriri* Vol 1 No. 25 Mei 14 1864, p. 3.

⁶² '... he mea āta whiri māire'.

shows that the right-hand knot (as seen by the viewer) is smooth and does not show lines representing hair as does the remainder of the hairstyle. A second carving shows a very similar style of hairdressing worn by an ancestral couple (Figure 3.3).⁶⁴ The detail of this carving suggests that both men and women of importance could wear their hair in the same manner. Like the East Coast carving, the double-knot of the female figure shows an uncarved section on the right.



In other carvings, the double knot of the carved hairstyle sometimes takes a higher, more stylised form. This is shown in two carvings (Figures 3.4 and 3.5).



⁶³ T. Barrow, 1991. *An Illustrated Guide to Maori Art*. Reed, New Zealand, frontspiece.

⁶⁴ This carving photographed by T. Barrow at the London home of K.A. Webster in 1956.

Despite their later provenance (circa 1842 - 60), these pou figures are included here to show how the carved band of wrapping hair appears to tuck under itself. In addition, both these images show the smooth knob on the right hand side of the double knots. An analysis of these carved images suggests that the hair is initially gathered up and tied into a bunch at the crown of the head. The bunch is probably then divided into three combed sections. Two of these sections appear to be rolled up, away from the central point, into cylindrical shapes, fastened back at the base of the bunch, possibly with the initial tie. The third section is seemingly taken across the intersection of the two rolls, then wrapped around the outside of the rolls to hold them together, before being tucked under itself.

Other regional carvings incorporate spiral motifs that can be seen as symbolic 'topknots' (Figure 3.6). A further example (Figure 3.7) shows that the hairstyle of eponymous female ancestors could be depicted in the same manner. The inclusion of topknots in Maori representations of their eponymous ancestors identifies the high status of the figure and re-enforces the cultural significance of hairstyle in traditional society.



Figure 3.6 East Coast style gable mask with spiral topknot. National Museum of Ireland, 109, Dublin.



Figure 3.7 Detail of pare or lintel female figure with spiral topknot. National Museum of Ireland, 102, Dublin.

SECTION C: Seventeenth century evidence

DOCUMENTARY AND GRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The earliest European evidence of Maori hairstyle comes from Abel Tasman's voyage in 1642. The documentary evidence is found in the Dutch State Archives Copy (SAC) of Tasman's journal. The 1898 translation⁶⁵ by J. E. Heeres, states:

these people ... (as far as [we] could see)... had Black hair right on top of the crown of the head fastened together in style and form like the Japanese at the back of the head but a bit longer and thicker of hair;⁶⁶

This is virtually identical to the translation of the Australian-held Huydecoper:

... and these people ... as far as we could see... they had black hair/ tied together right on the Crown of the head/ in the manner and fashion of the Japanese at the back of the head/ but somewhat longer and thicker of hair/...⁶⁷

The third, lesser known, but earlier Haalbos-Montanus text supports the official accounts:

[Marginal note: *their shape*] These people were rough, brave, strong and of tawny colour; the head-hair, tied up round, was bound together in a tress on top of the crown....⁶⁸

The texts concur on the general appearance of the Maori, their skin colour and thick black hair fastened on the crown of the head. Haalbos goes further in his description that the hair was 'tied up round.' This may be suggesting that the hair was wound around the head in some way before being tied up. The Haalbos account omits any comparison with Japanese hairstyle, but it is not known whether Haalbos had experience in Japan, as had Tasman, Visscher and Gilsemans. Given their various sojourns in Japan, the three officers would have some familiarity with both male and female Japanese hairstyle.

JAPANESE COMPARISONS

Dutch comparisons of Maori hairstyle with Japanese styles that the writers had previously observed require investigation. Although the text of Tasman's journal gives no indication of the gender to which they were referring, it is assumed that they were male. Male Japanese hairstyles of the seventeenth century featured a

⁶⁵ Abel Janszoon Tasman's Journal of his discovery of Van Diemens Land and New Zealand in 1642 with documents relating to his exploration of Australia in 1644 being photo-lithographic facsimiles of the original manuscript in the Colonial archives at the Hague with an English translation and facsimiles of original maps to which are added life and labours of Abel Janszoon Tasman by J. E. Heeres, LL.D. Professor at the Dutch Colonial Institute Delft and observations with the compass on Tasman's voyage by Dr. W. Van Bemmelen, assistant director of the Royal Meteorological Institute Utrecht. 1898: Amsterdam: Frederick Muller & Co., (F. Adama Van Scheltema and Antor Mensing.)

⁶⁶ Sharp, pp. 121-122.

⁶⁷ Huydecoper manuscript, P.K.Roest translation, p. 85. Copy courtesy G. Anderson.

⁶⁸ Sharp, p. 42.

variety of tied styles. In one predominant style, the top of the scalp is shaven or bald, and the remaining hair worn in a protruding tuft (Figure 3.8).⁶⁹

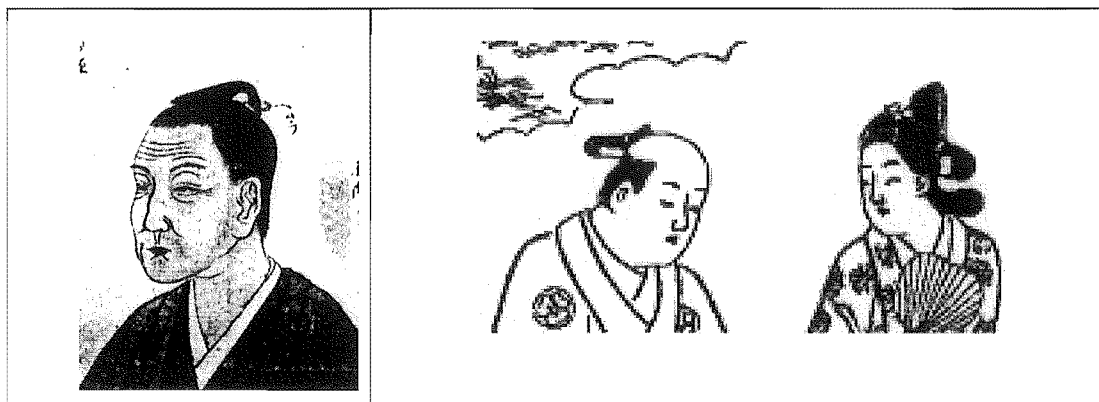
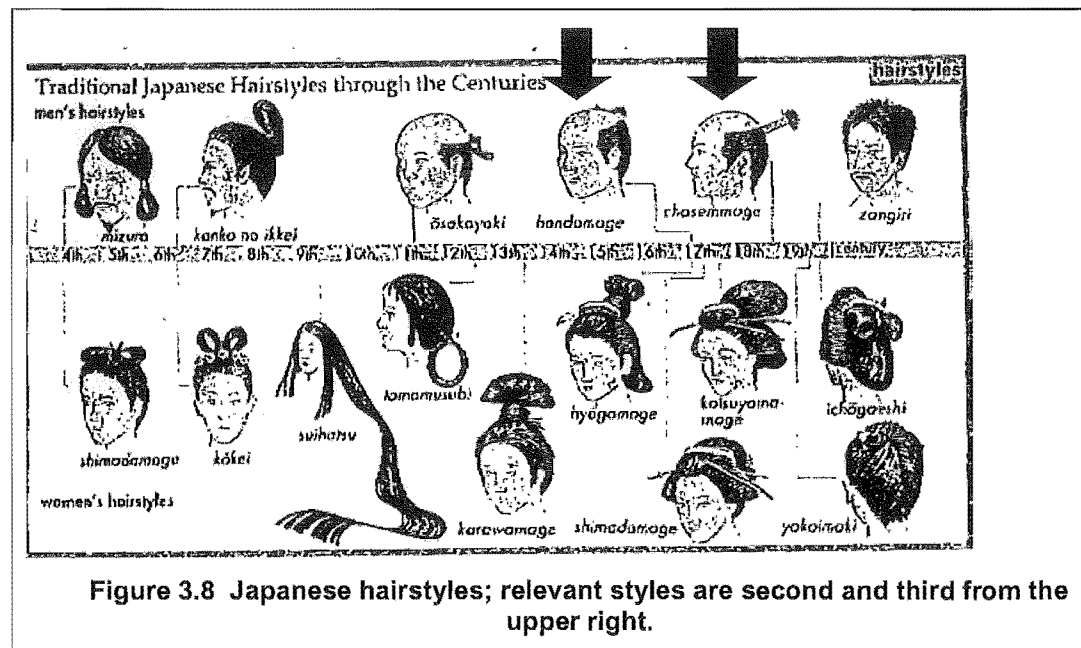


Figure 3.9 Variations of seventeenth century Japanese hairstyles.

A variation of this form includes a smooth 'pony-tail' that is flicked forward over the crown (Figure 3.9).⁷⁰ Historically, only one Maori hairstyle has been recorded as having been thinned on the top of the scalp. In this style, which was given the name of ara-kioire,⁷¹ (rat path) the hair was thinned out in a broad parting from the forehead to the base of the skull. No indication was given of the period nor the region where this style was recorded, neither does the style appear to incorporate

⁶⁹ Illustration source: courtesy of Isabel van Daaen, 1999. Japan-Netherlands Institute, Tokyo, Japan.

⁷⁰ Illustration sources: 3.9a., *Nihon Rekishi Shirizu*, Vol. 15, p. 136; 3.9b., courtesy of Isabel van Daaen.

any form of knotted hair. It seems unlikely that this was the style seen by the Dutch explorers, and it is probable that the Japanese comparison was intended to serve in a general capacity for their intended Netherlands readers. Fortunately, the journal text is complemented by contemporary graphic imagery.

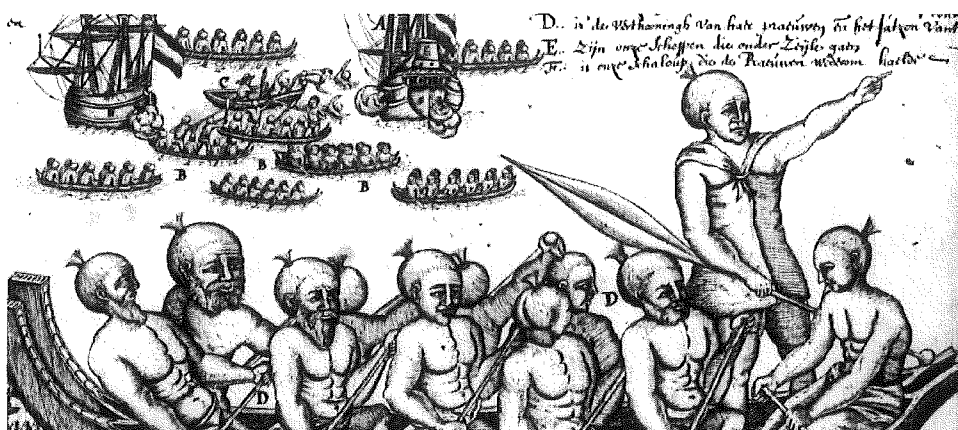


Figure 3.10 SAC image after Gilsemans, detail of the appearance of the people.

GRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The first graphic image is the SAC illustration showing local inhabitants of 'Murderers' Bay'⁷² and attributed to Isaac Gilsemans (Figure 3.10). It shows one general hairstyle worn by all the men depicted. However, the significant features in this detail of the image are the shape and size of the heads of the eleven-man crew of the waka. They are particularly rounded in form and heavily shaped at the base of the skull, with unusual clipped 'topknots' at the crown. Leonard Bell typified common perceptions of these figures when he described them as an 'awkward and ill-proportioned drawing of a group of Maoris', claiming that their physiognomic appearance had only slight resemblance to Maori, and describing their heads as 'bizarre'.⁷³ As discussed in Chapter 2, the shape of the heads was a concern to Witsen, who produced the first published version of the Gilseman image in 1705. The engraving, *Vaertuig en Gedaente der inwoonders van Selandia Nova* included in his second edition of *Noord en oost Tartarye*, showed all crew members heads with what were assumed to be more appropriate size.⁷⁴

⁷¹ Tregear, p. 242.

⁷² Waitapu, subsequently Golden Bay.

⁷³ Leonard Bell, 1980. *The Maori in European Art: A survey of the representation of the Maori by European artists from the time of Captain Cook to the present day*. Reed, Wellington, p. 2.

⁷⁴ Nicolaes Witsen, 1705, *Noord en Oost Tartarye*, Vol. 1, 2nd edition, François Halma, Amsterdam, between pp. 172-3.

However, in reality, only two of the original heads cause any genuine dilemma. The first is the over-large head of the rear far-sided paddler looking over his shoulder towards the viewer; the second seems slightly undersized, that of the third, near-side man from the right, turned away from the viewer. With the exclusion of these two heads, the remainder assume more usual proportions. The faint definition of individual hairlines around the faces makes analysis of this Maori hairstyle difficult. This definition, with the distinctive shaping of the heads, is completely at variance with the appearance of Gilsemans's subsequent rendition of other Pacific peoples.

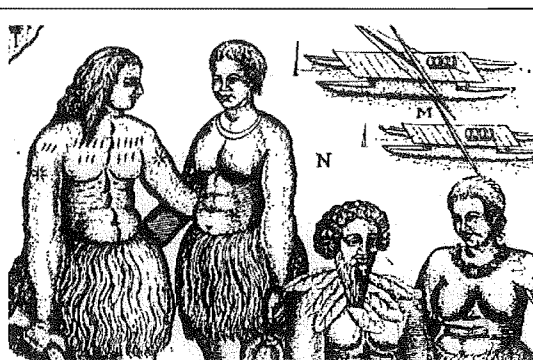


Figure 3.11 After Gilsemans, Tonga, detail of hairstyles and beard.



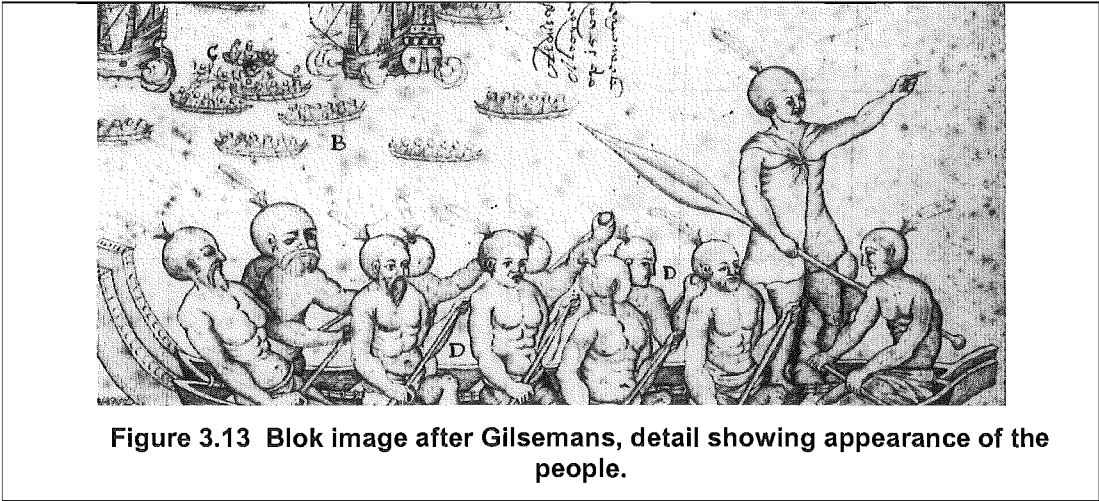
Figure 3.12 After Gilsemans, Rotterdam Island, detail of hairstyles and beard.

Gilsemans's other illustrations in the journal show heads of normal proportions; all with clearly defined hairlines around the faces. They have a variety of hairstyles, incorporating short curly hair, longer shoulder length hair and cropped, possibly bleached hair (Figures 3.9 and 3.10). In the Pacific Islands, the draughtsman had more opportunity to observe variations of hairstyle, and demonstrate his capability to render these differences.

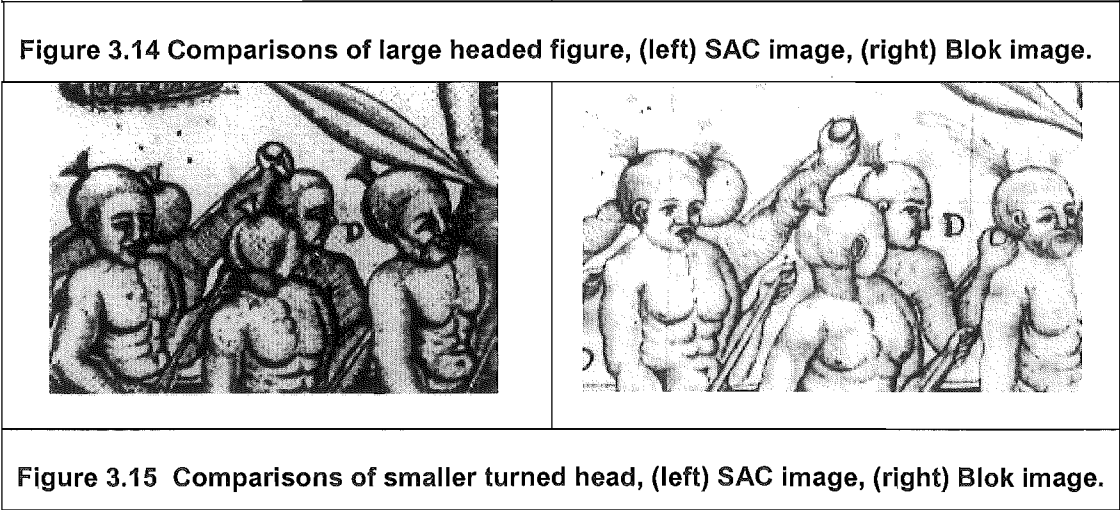
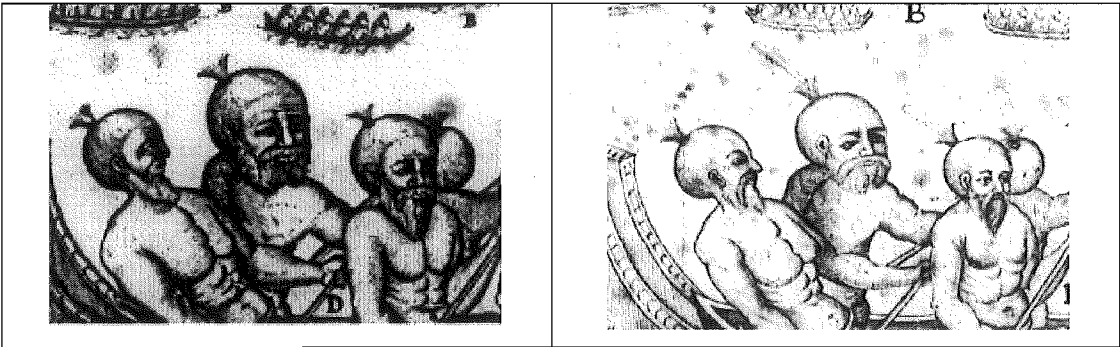
In comparison, his depiction suggests that Maori at Murderers' Bay appear to have favoured one style. The explanation for the lack of definition may be because the waka approached the Dutch ships at dusk, and remained at a safe distance, thus restricting the draughtsman's opportunity to distinguish more detail. In the SAC image the hair is gathered onto the crown of each head, exposing the ears, and appears to be held in place by a ring or tie. The short cleanly-cut tufts stand up above the tie, resembling a large pohutukawa flower or the bristles of a European shaving brush.

The lesser known copy of the SAC image, the Blok Fragment, (Figure 3.13) makes a useful comparison. The two illustrations show significant similarities with only minor differences. Most important of these similarities in terms of Maori

appearance is the shape of the men’s heads and their brush-like ‘topknots’. (Their feather ornaments will be addressed in Chapter 4).



A comparison of the two images shows that the Blok fragment has retained not only the enlarged head of the rear far-sided crewmember (Figure 3.14) and the particularity of the smaller, turned head of the near-side paddler (Figure 3.15) but also the form of the cropped tufts.



These parallels clearly indicate that the draughtsman intended to convey quite specific details. Both the images are consistent in their portrayals of some figures with larger than customary sized heads, and with cropped tufts of hair tied on the crown of the head. Likewise, the images are consistent in their portrayal of bearded men.

DUTCH EVIDENCE OF BEARDS

The bearded figures are another reason for the cautious response that Gilsemans's imagery has received. Of the eleven-man crew of the SAC image, two faces are turned away from the viewer, a third is partially obscured and appears beardless, but four of the remaining eight have beards. The Blok image differs only in that it has a twelfth crewmember almost completely concealed by the standing figure. No journal descriptions allude to beards in any way; however, had all the Maori been beardless, the draughtsman would no doubt have indicated this. Dutch portraiture of the seventeenth century affirms that a mixture of bearded and non-bearded faces was the norm in contemporary society;⁷⁵ thus, Tasman's party may have felt no need to make comment. However, none of the beards in contemporary portraits appears as dense as do those of the SAC image of Murderer's Bay Maori. This hirsute appearance may indicate the draughtsman's lack of portrait skill; although the Blok figures show an attempt to lighten the facial hair in both density and tone, that image retains the same number of beards.

Traditional evidence supports the Dutch depictions of male hairstyle as being accurate in their portrayal, offering an explanation for the large heads depicted in Gilsemans's images. The Haalbos-Montanus description that the hair was 'tied up round' suggests that the hair was in some way wound round the head before being tied up. This description is in accordance with the legendary seven plaited style of Kahungunu (refer Varieties of men's hairstyle) which, in oral tradition emphasised the quantity and bulk of the chief's hair. If this style was shaped with the assistance of grease or oil, the weight of long heavy hair tied in this manner may have caused it to droop at the back of the neck. Mindful that Gilsemans was a draughtsman rather than an artist, it is feasible that in trying to depict a large hairstyle, he portrayed a large head. More significantly, he ensured that the large head was also faithfully conveyed in the Blok image by his verification of both pages. Likewise, his depiction of some bearded men was also consistent.

⁷⁵ For example Franz Hals, 1616. *Banquet of the Officers of the St George Civic Guard Company*. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

SECTION D: Eighteenth century evidence

GENERAL DOCUMENTARY AND GRAPHIC EVIDENCE OF HAIR AND BEARDS

One hundred and twenty-seven years after the Dutch images were made, Cook's first expedition arrived. His systematic exploration of the coastline over three voyages gave increased opportunity for British explorers to note details of Maori appearance. When *Endeavour* arrived in Poverty Bay, Cook and other members of the expedition recorded descriptions of Maori hair and beards. Cook wrote:

The Natives of this Country ... are all of a very dark brown Colour with black hair, thin black beards.... The men generally wear their hair combed up and tied upon the crown of their head.⁷⁶

Banks recorded: 'The men always wore short beards, and tied their hair in a small knot on the top of their heads....'⁷⁷ The first casualty of the Maori-British encounter, Te Maro, was described by Monkhouse: 'his hair, coarse and black, was tied upon the crown of his head ... his beard short.'⁷⁸ However, Monkhouse later wrote: 'Their hair is almost universally black – but of bad hue – coarse [coarse], and in general short.'⁷⁹ Parkinson provided few details in his written descriptions of Maori hairstyle; his greatest contribution would be through his graphic images. Initially he wrote, 'Most of them had their hair tied up on the crown of their heads in a knot....'⁸⁰ Later he added 'The natives ... have faces like Europeans; and in general ... black hair, which is tied up on the crown of the head.'

Graphic evidence supports these observations. Parkinson was the most prolific of the three potential draughtsmen on board *Endeavour*; an analysis of his studies and composite works allows a tentative indication of the range of hairstyle (Refer Appendix B, Tables 3.1 and 3.2).⁸¹ Table 3.1 shows that of thirty studies which can be identified as male,⁸² eight do not indicate how the hair was worn. Of the remaining twenty-two, all have hair tied or knotted on the top of the head. Similarly, Table 3.2 shows that of one hundred and sixteen persons included in composite

⁷⁶ Cook, in Beaglehole, Vol. 1, pp. 278-80.

⁷⁷ Banks, ed. Beaglehole, Vol. 2, p. 15.

⁷⁸ Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, Vol 1, p. 566.

⁷⁹ Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, Vol. 1, p. 586.

⁸⁰ Sydney Parkinson, 1773, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in HMS Endeavour*, p. 90.

⁸¹ It can only be tentative as we do not know how often Parkinson may have redrawn the same individuals in his frequent studies and working drawings.

⁸² I have included MS 23920, f.60 (a) as male, despite Joppein and Smith having identified this as a woman wearing the potae taua. It seems to me that the lines under the protruding tongue indicate a beard. This image will be found in Chapter 4. (Joppein and Smith have also incorrectly pinpointed this as one of the studies Parkinson made on 22 October 1769, whereas, the potae taua was not seen until the *Endeavour* reached Queen Charlotte Sound.)

images, sixty-two can be identified with some certainty as male,⁸³ with another twelve probably male. Of these, sixty-eight have some form of 'topknot' tied on the crown, while two may have hair tied at the nape of the neck. One male appears to be bald, while all those whose gender is uncertain have short or totally obscured hair. Parkinson's graphic evidence strongly supports the journal evidence as noted above.

VARIETIES OF MEN'S HAIRSTYLE

In comparison with the Tasman journal which identified only one basic 'brush' style, members of Cook's voyages observed at least five other variations of male hairstyle in the years between 1769 and 1777. Aside from the 'cut brush' style discussed below (Figure 3.16), Parkinson portrayed three different styles; a neatly 'clubbed' double knot on the crown of the head (Figure 3.17), a small neat roll of hair on the crown of the head (Figure 3.22), and a short splayed tuft of hair tied on the crown of the head (Figure 3.25). Hodges showed men with untied hair (Figure 3.32) and Webber showed men with short curling hair (Figure 3.50).

(A) CUT BRUSH STYLE

Only one image from Cook's artists shows close similarity to the hairstyles shown by Gilsemans. Tentatively attributed to Parkinson,⁸⁴ the image shows a male profile with moko, and thick cropped tuft of hair with protruding feather; in this instance, white tipped huia rather than totally white (Figure 3.16). In comparison with Gilsemans's work, the head shape is unexceptional, with hair smoothed back and not showing any sign of bulk. Despite no indication of where, when, or by whom the image was made, this sketch suggests the brush-like hairstyle seen by the Dutch was still worn by Maori in Cook's time. The first French expedition, also in 1769, supplies additional evidence; Crozet described the same hairstyle:

they tie their hair into a tuft on the top of their heads with a piece of cord or plaits of grass, and then cut it off in the form of a round brush an inch or two above the cord; for want of scissors for this operation they make use of a shell the edges of which they sharpen.⁸⁵

⁸³ Gender has been assigned where possible by physique, clothing, or lack of clothing around hip area, and hairstyle.

⁸⁴ Refer Joppein and Smith, Vol. 1, pp. 190-191.

⁸⁵ *Crozet's Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand and the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the years 1771-1772*, translated by H. Ling Roth, 1891. Truslove & Shirley, London, p. 37. See also Best, Elsdon, 1925. *The Maori As He Was; a brief account of Maori life as it was in pre-European days*. A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, New Zealand. Reprint 1974, p. 225.



Figure 3.16 Parkinson, attributed. B.L. Add. MS 23920, f.61 (f)

(B) DOUBLE KNOTTED STYLE

Parkinson had noted a particular hairstyle on the east coast of the North Island '...and some of them had their hair most curiously brought up to their crowns, rolled round, and knotted.'⁸⁶ Monkhouse also observed this style on the day of the Cape Kidnappers incident: 'Two men had their hair neatly clubbed upon the top of the head in two parts and ornamented with three feathers and much daubed with grease.'⁸⁷ Parkinson later recorded the style again, as the expedition travelled northwards. When he described the crew of three waka which approached near Cape Turnagain on 8th February 1770, he wrote:

They were much like the natives of Matarooakaow, a village in Tologa Bay; being very neatly dressed, having their hair knotted on the crown of their heads in two bunches, one of which was Tamooou, [?tamau = held fast] or plaited, and the wreath bound round them the same.⁸⁸

Parkinson seems to be suggesting that one of the 'bunches' may have been plaited or twisted, and the encompassing band, presumably also of hair was dressed the same way. He made numerous sketches that showed this knotted style, but the plaiting that he described is not discernible. His October 1769 *Portrait of a New Zeland Man* (Figure 3.17) shows an example of the style.

⁸⁶ Parkinson, p. 94.

⁸⁷ Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, p. 580.

⁸⁸ Parkinson, p. 119.



Figure 3.17 Parkinson, *Portrait of a New Zeland Man*, (B.L. Add. MS 23920, f.55).

This pen and wash portrait was probably developed from an earlier pencil drawing (on verso) about October 1769,⁸⁹ when *Endeavour* was off the East Coast of the North Island. It shows a young man with a strong curvilinear moko and slight wispy beard; his dress displays evidence of some status. This is indicated by his ornaments; a substantial pounamu ear pendant, a hei tiki suspended from a round plaited cord, as well as his garment which is probably a hieke.⁹⁰ It is logical then that his hairstyle was in keeping with his status. His hair is smoothed and in all probability greased into a double knot, ornamented with three white feathers, and a wooden carved heru inserted on the right side of his head, below the knot.

This clubbed or double-knotted style identified by Parkinson was a regional hairstyle worn by men along the East Coast. It appears to consist of two small, very neat rolls of hair at the crown of the head, that are closely encircled with another length of hair or wrapped with some type of fibre; or as Parkinson himself states, one of the knots may be plaited and the wrapping likewise. Further examples of this style are shown (Figure 3.18 to Figure 3.21). Although the figures in these four pencil sketches all wear tall combs, their ear pendants and use of feathers are different, as are their chin lines. These facts allow the assumption that they show three different examples of the same hairstyle. Documentary evidence of Parkinson and Monkhouse is supported by Parkinson's graphic evidence, which in

⁸⁹ Joppein and Smith, Vol. 1, p. 166.

⁹⁰ A hieke is a quality status garment which has doubled-over tags inserted. See M. Pendergrast, 1994. *Te aho Tapu The Sacred Thread*. Reed, Auckland, p. 85.

turn is upheld by the evidence of traditional carving. The East Coast provenance of all sources confirms this as a regional hairstyle.



Figure 3.18 Parkinson, detail, B.L. MS 23920, f.60 (c)

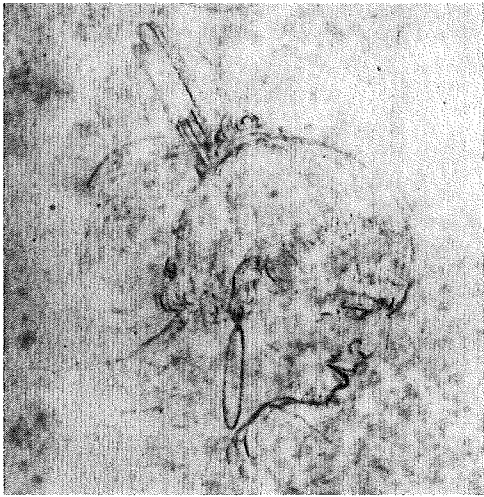


Figure 3.19 Parkinson, detail, B.L. MS 23920, f.61 (c).

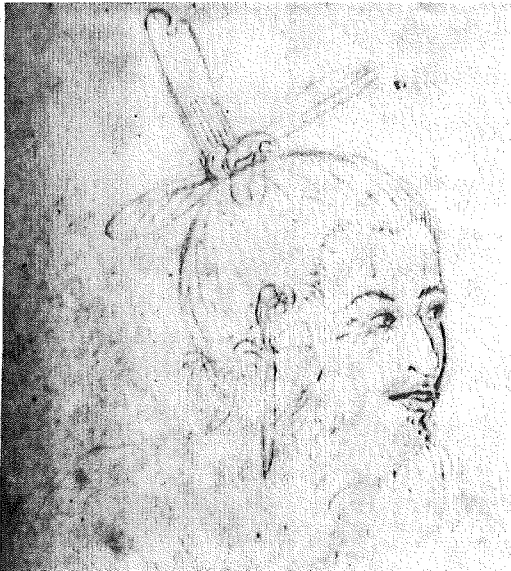


Figure 3.20 Parkinson, B.L. MS 23920 f 61 (e).



Figure 3.21 Parkinson, B.L. MS 23920, f.64 (d).

(C) PIKI ROLL STYLE

The second style that Parkinson identified can also be localised. It is found in a pen and wash image made during December 1769.⁹¹ Entitled *Portrait of a New Zeland Man* (Figure 3.22), the subject was identified as Otegoowgoow [?Otekaukau], the son of a Bay of Islands chief.



Figure 3.22 Parkinson, *Portrait of a New Zeland Man*, B.L. Add. MS 23920, f.54 (a).

The young man wears ornaments that indicate his chiefly status; a tall titireia (a large whalebone heru) inserted upright behind his 'topknot', and a rei puta neck ornament. A pounamu pendant and two teeth are suspended from his ear, and he wears a finely woven, flexible garment with decorative horizontal element. There is facial hair on his chin-line, and moko on the lower half of his face, with forehead vertical lines only lightly marked. He has a well groomed, smooth, tidy head of hair, with a small, tight roll of hair tied at the crown and sitting across the top of his head. Williams defines 'piki' as 'a method of dressing the hair in a roll on the top of the head, a sign of rank'.⁹² That this hairstyle is only shown at the Bay of Islands suggests that it is another regional sign of status.

William Ellis,⁹³ a member of Cook's third expedition, showed a similar style in a pencil sketch although there is no evidence of where his subject was seen. In his

⁹¹ Joppein and Smith, Vol. 1, p. 184.

⁹² Williams, *A Dictionary of the Maori Language*. A.R. Shearer, Government Printer, Wellington, p. 280. The word 'piki' is also translated as a plume for the head.

⁹³ Ellis, who was educated at Cambridge and St Bartholomew's, transferred from the *Discovery* to the *Resolution* in 1779 as surgeon's second mate.

image *New Zealand Warrior* (Figure 3.23), Ellis portrayed the rear view of a naked warrior brandishing a patu. He paid particular attention to the delineation of his subject's muscular definition. The thoroughness and deliberation of detail that Ellis displayed, suggests that the clear expanse at the back of his subject's head is significant (Figure 3.24). Ellis is careful to show the remainder of the warrior's hair, his piki, neck hair and the line of beard, in addition to a small indication of moustache.

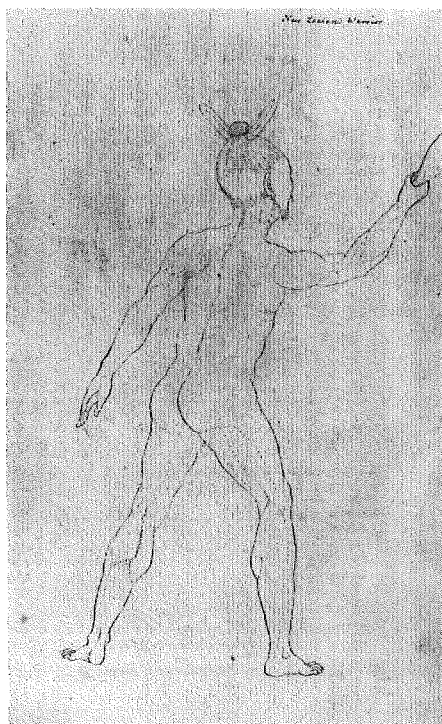


Figure 3.23 Ellis, *New Zealand Warrior*. A.T.L. Wellington.

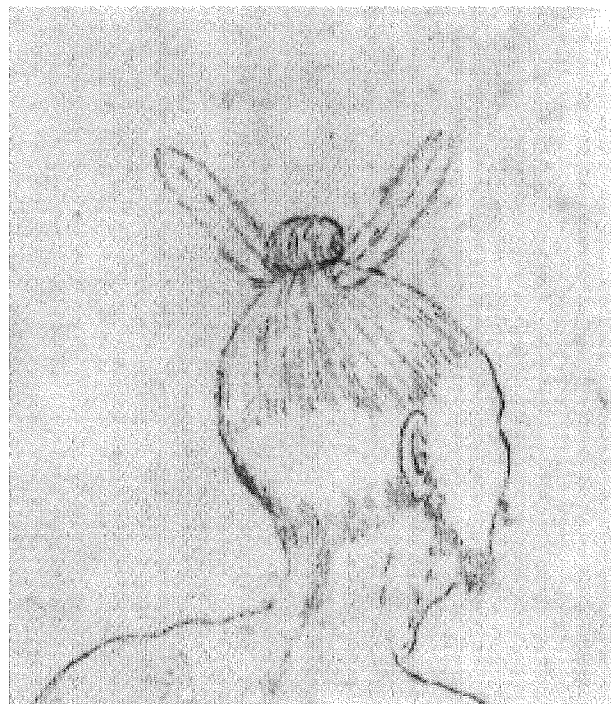


Figure 3.24 Ellis, detail from *New Zealand Warrior*.

This clear expanse may have an explanation in the journal of Ellis's colleague William Anderson, who was the surgeon's mate aboard the *Resolution* on the same voyage. Anderson wrote:

The hair is black, straight and strong, commonly cut short on the hind part with the rest ty'd on the crown of the head, but some have it of a curling disposition or a brown colour.⁹⁴

The representation cannot be certain, but it is possible that Ellis has shown this warrior's hair 'cut short on the hind part'.⁹⁵ If so, this is another element of style

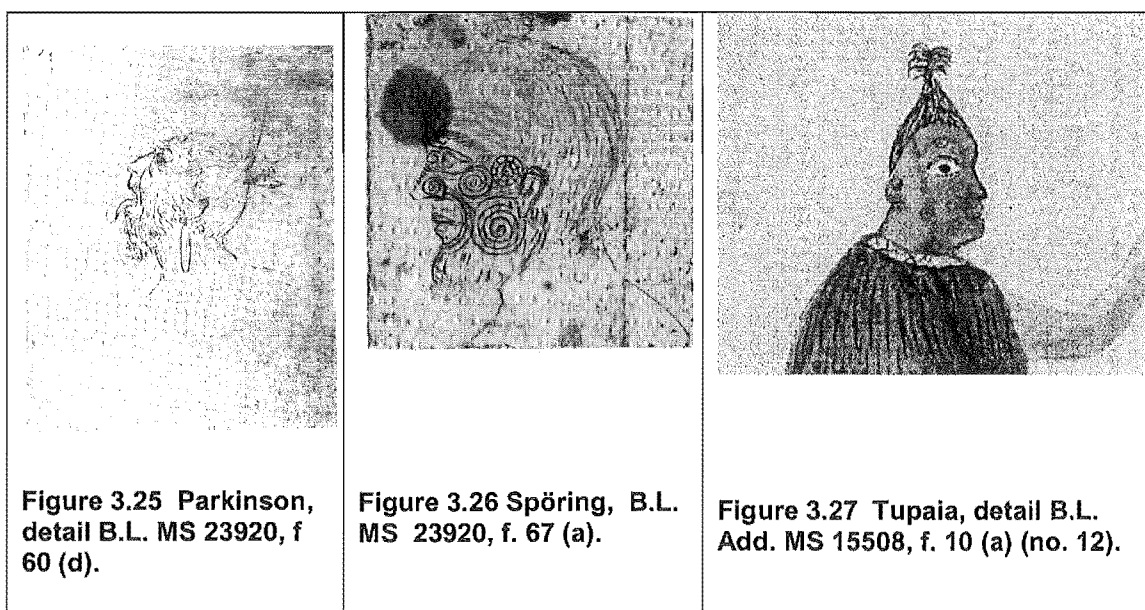
⁹⁴ Beaglehole, Vol 3, Part 2, p. 809.

⁹⁵ At this angle, it is most unlikely that this 'void' is an attempt by Ellis to show 'shine' across greased hair.

which has been previously overlooked, and about which nothing else has been written. It may have been a temporary regional fashion which was not maintained, although one could speculate that it was favoured by warriors because it reduced the chances of them being caught by their hair. While there appears to be no further evidence of the closely cut back section of hair, the evidence of Parkinson and Ellis shows that the piki roll was worn for a period of at least ten years; furthermore, Parkinson showed only one example of this style suggesting its exclusivity, but ten years later Anderson's description suggests that the style may have been less exclusive and more widely worn.

(D) TIED TUFT STYLE

The third male hairstyle identified by Parkinson consisted of a short tuft or bunch of hair tied on the crown of the head (Figure 3.25). It has been differentiated from the cut brush style because it does not show the same cleanly cut shape.



This style was also identified by Spöring and Tupaia, on the same voyage. Spöring produced only one image which shows a clearly defined hairstyle, a short splayed tuft, high on the top of the head (Figure 3.26). Likewise, Tupaia shows a similar splaying tuft on the top of the head of his Maori figure (Figure 3.27). All three artists show similar, curling clusters of hair, but the evidence indicates that this style was worn in different positions. In some cases the bunch was tied high on the top of the head as depicted by Spöring and Tupaia, while in others it was made at the back of the crown as shown by Parkinson.

On Cook's second voyage, Hodges showed two male hairstyles. These included hair tied in a knot, or worn untied. Of the tied styles, Hodges's images are too indistinct to allow any real analysis of their form. Nonetheless, the information is included here because it helps to show both the continuity and some variation of the style: in addition it shows the range of area over which the style was worn. Hodges made sketches of members of a family at Dusky Sound. Although they have dishevelled but indistinct hairstyles, the man has his hair in a small knot on the top of his head (Figure 3.29). This concurs with the journal of Forster: 'the man wore his tied upon the crown of the head....'⁹⁶



Figure 3.28
Hodges, [A Maori
man, holding a
hatchet]. B.M.
Department of Prints
and Drawings,
London. 201.c.5, no
282.



Figure 3.29 Detail of (Figure 3.28), male hairstyle.

However, on the day when Cook's party visited the family at their settlement, the Swedish member of the crew, Sparrman, recorded: 'The man's hair was bound in tufts over the crown of his head....'⁹⁷ This is the only documented observation of a

⁹⁶ Forster, Vol. 1, p.138.

⁹⁷ Sparrman, p. 33.

style with multiple tufts from Cook's period. That the style still survived in the south, and does not appear to have been seen elsewhere suggests that changes took longer to reach the region. Unfortunately, this style was not recorded by the graphic artist.



Figure 3.30 Hodges, [*Maoris in a canoe*]. B. M. Department of Prints and Drawings, London. (2.33).

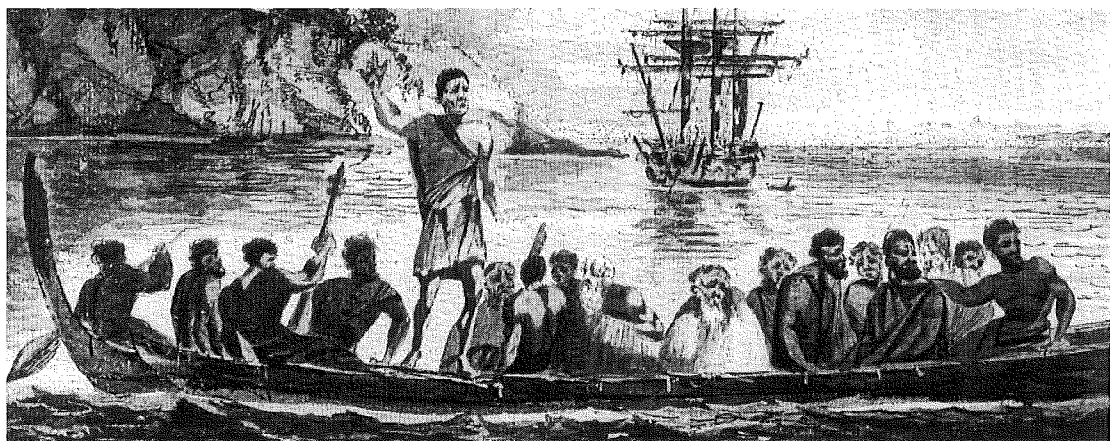


Figure 3.31 Hodges, detail from [*A party of Maoris in a canoe*]. La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

Nonetheless, Hodges showed other variations. Early in June 1773, when the *Resolution* was in Queen Charlotte Sound, newcomers arrived in the Sound. As their double-hulled waka approached the *Resolution*, Hodges made a spontaneous blot-like image recording the occasion (Figure 3.30). He subsequently developed this sketch into a work entitled *A party of Maoris in a canoe* (Figure 3.31). The work shows a total of seventeen figures. Initially, all apparently have short hair. This detail, however, is inconsistent with Forster's evidence:

Their hair was dressed in the fashion of the country tied on the crown, greased, and stuck with feathers; and several of them had large combs ... stuck upright just behind the bunch of hair on the head.⁹⁸

⁹⁸ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 226-7.

At least three such 'large combs' can be recognised in the blot image (Figure 3.30). This suggests that these men wore their hair tied in a bunch at the *back* of the crown, rather than a 'topknot' or short tuft on the top.

(E) LOOSE UNTIED HAIR

In contrast, two red chalk portraits by Hodges made at Queen Charlotte Sound show bearded men with loose untied hair (Figure 3.32, Figure 3.33).



Figure 3.32 Hodges, [Maori man with bushy hair,] May 1773 (?). N.L.A., Canberra. (2.30).



Figure 3.33 Hodges, [Old Maori man with a grey beard,] May 1773(?). N.L.A., Canberra. (2.31).

These portraits support the evidence of Forster's journal:

Several of these people were invited into the cabin, where Mr. Hodges applied himself to sketch the most characteristic faces, while we prevailed on them to sit still for a few moments, keeping their attention engaged, by a variety of trifles which we shewed, and some of which we presented to them. We found several very expressive countenances among them, particularly some old men, with grey or white heads and beards; and some young men, with amazing bushy hair, which hung wildly over their faces, and increased their natural savage looks.⁹⁹

The men wore their hair hanging in a very slovenly manner about them....¹⁰⁰

However, neither Hodges nor Forster offered any suggestions as to why some men wore their hair untied.

⁹⁹ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 213.

¹⁰⁰ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 213-4.

Nevertheless, Forster gives more information on the speaker portrayed standing in the double hulled waka. This man was Teiratu from Teera Whittee in the North Island.¹⁰¹ Forster describes Teiratu and his party as seeming more affluent than the local inhabitants of Queen Charlotte Sound, in both their appearance and their possessions.¹⁰² In contrast, when the *Resolution* returned to the Sound in the following November, Forster observed Teiratu differently. He wrote:

Our New Zealanders were all covered with shaggy cloaks, which are their winter dresses.

4 Nov. Teiratu returns – now in his old clothes ... quite destitute of the finery of chequered mats edged with dogskin, his hair carelessly tied in a bunch, instead of being combed smooth, and delectably greased with stinking oil. In short, from being an orator and leader of a troop of warriors, he seemed to be degraded to a simple fishmonger. It was with some difficulty that we recognised his features under this disguise...¹⁰³

On this second occasion, although his hair was still worn tied up, Teiratu had taken no trouble with his appearance. It is highly probably that at the first meeting in June, Teiratu and his company sought to make a strong indication of their power and importance upon the visiting British, and therefore, dressed to create such an impression. On the later meeting, Teiratu already knew with whom he was dealing. At the same time, it is possible that the season may have affected his circumstances. The former, apparent affluent condition of these people may have passed and Teiratu's appearance may reflect the change. The aspect of creating appearance is further discussed in Chapter 4.

(F) SHORT CURLY HAIR

The images of Webber, produced on Cook's last voyage in 1777, show only one potentially different hairstyle. This appears to be a short curly style, perhaps that described by Monkhouse earlier.¹⁰⁴ Most of Webber's works were group scenes, which show a cross-section of long and short styles, as for example *Captain Cook in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound* (Figure 3.49). A close examination of this work shows that at least six of the figures appear to have curly hair that has been cut. It is possible there are others, but the images are too indistinct to be able to state with certainty that there is no tuft or knot of hair behind the head.

¹⁰¹ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 225.

¹⁰² Forster, Vol. 1, p. 226.

¹⁰³ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 494.

¹⁰⁴ Monkhouse, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 586.



**Figure 3.34 Webber, [Captain Cook in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound]
National Maritime Museum, London.**

The man standing at the extreme left of detail (Figure 3.35) has his hair in a knot, while the man seated in front of him has short hair. (Dark arrows are used to show knotted hair, white arrows to indicate short hair.) The remainder of the group appear to have short hair.

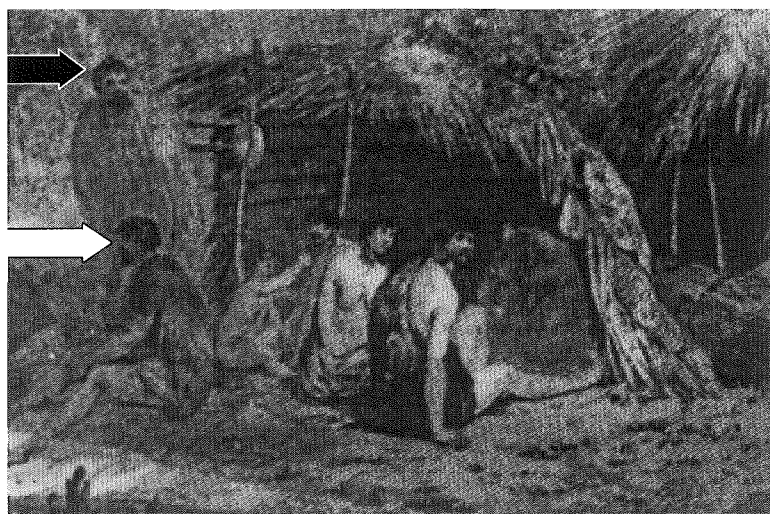


Figure 3.35 Detail, (from Figure 3.34) left side group.

Three figures of the large central group (Figure 3.36) have some kind of topknots, while the man seated below the trio, the man in between the two groups and the two men seated at the right end of the composition all appear to have short hair.

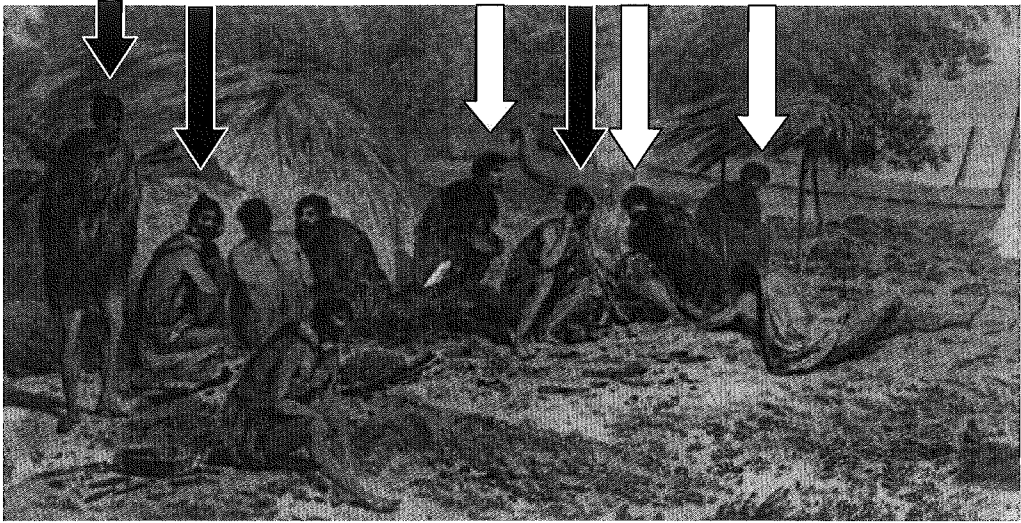


Figure 3.36 Detail, (from Figure 3.34) central group.

The man in the foreground of Figure 3.37 has short curly hair, as does one of the two men shown with Cook, while the other wears his hair in a knot.

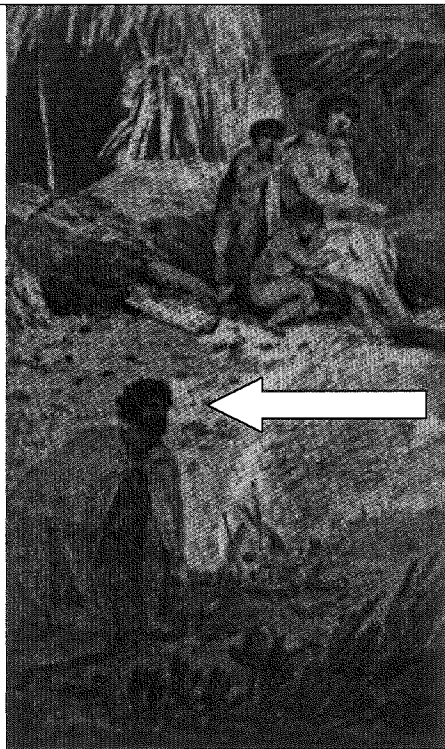


Figure 3.37 Detail, (Figure 3.34) woman and children, with man in foreground.

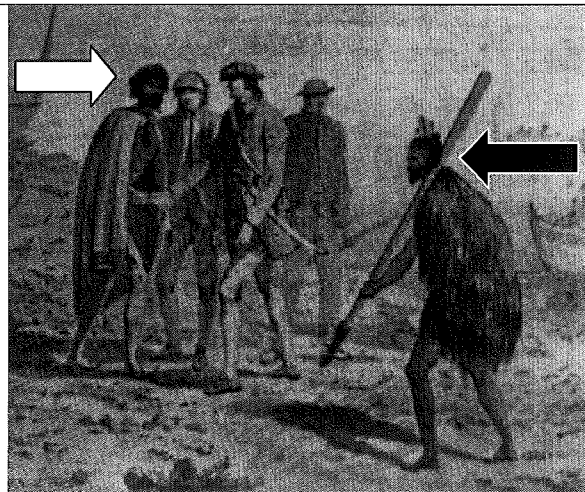


Figure 3.38 Detail, (Figure 3.34) group around Captain Cook.

Similar variations of hairstyle can be seen Webber's work *Maori Huts* (Figure 3.39), which contains groups of figures that the artist subsequently used in mirror image, in the previous work. In this detail, only one topknot is clearly depicted. All other figures appear to have short hair. There seems an apparent increase of short hairstyles on Cook's third voyage.

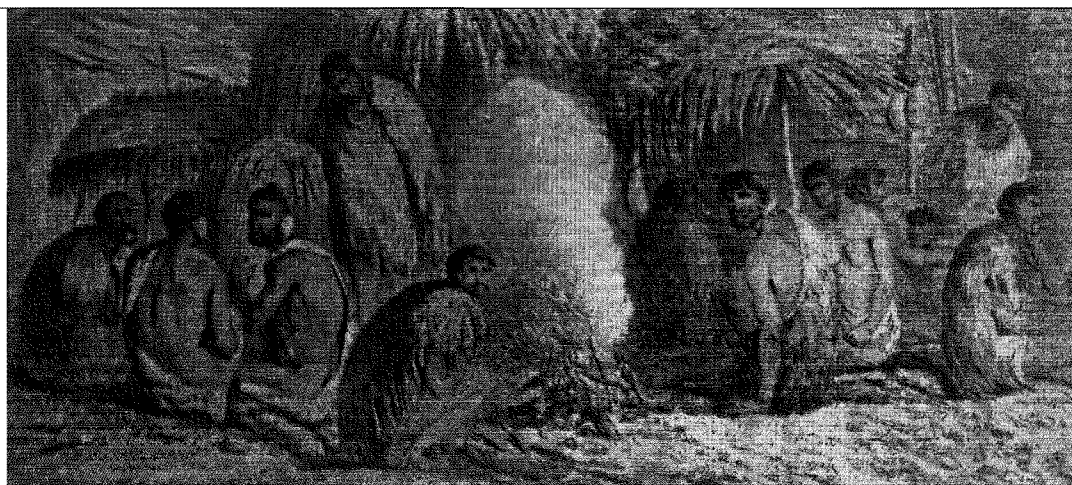


Figure 3.39 Webber, detail from *Maori Huts*, Knatchbull Collection, Ashford, Kent.

In 1793, the French vessels, *Recherche* and *Espérance*, visited New Zealand.

D'Auribeau described the members of two canoe parties they encountered:

...there were 4 young boys in the bottom of the big canoe whom we took at first to be women;
¹⁰⁵ some wear their hair in a knot¹⁰⁶ on their heads, ... others wear their hair loose and it
 does not reach beyond their shoulders....¹⁰⁷

On the same occasion, Raoul wrote,

Some have straight hair and others have slightly curly hair but almost all wear it knotted on
 the top of their heads.¹⁰⁸

These French observations reflect the continuity of male hairstyles, showing similar variations and little change.

BEARDS

In comparison with the 17th century evidence, the Cook expeditions recorded a diversity of Maori beards, being variously thin, short, and full, and black or silver in colour. Cook wrote that the natives had thin black beards.¹⁰⁹ Banks noted: 'The

¹⁰⁵ d'Auribeau in *Extracts ... Recherche, Espérance, 1793*, p. 31.

¹⁰⁶ (noues - e acute) p. 32.

¹⁰⁷ d'Auribeau in *Extracts ... Recherche, Espérance, 1793*, p. 33.

¹⁰⁸ Raoul, in *Extracts ... Recherche, Espérance, 1793*, p. 51.

¹⁰⁹ Cook, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, pp. 278-80.

men always wore short beards...' ¹¹⁰ but Anderson observed: 'They wear long beards but are fond of having it shav'd.' ¹¹¹ Parkinson recorded: 'The natives ... have faces like Europeans;... and beards of a middling length.' ¹¹² He also described an old man who came on board 'His brow ... was much furrowed; and the hair of his head and beard quite silvered with age.' ¹¹³

Parkinson produced a number of images which showed bearded Maori. An analysis of these works gives a tentative indication of the proportion of bearded Maori (Appendix B, Tables 3.2 and 3.3). ¹¹⁴ These images show a predominance of beards among the male subjects. Of the thirty-one figure studies that I believe can be identified as male, twenty-one have some form of beard, while seven have none, two are unable to clearly determined, and one has no chin shown. This gives a conservative estimate of about two thirds of Maori men having some form of beard at the time of European contact.

It is more difficult to draw any conclusions from Parkinson's composite images. Of the seventy-four figures calculated to be male, twenty-four are bearded, five may have slight beards, one appears to be a youth and the majority of the remainder have faces that are obscured, making it impossible to tell whether they were bearded or not. Altogether, Parkinson showed a broad range of bearded figures, which obviously reflected the ages and hair types of his subjects. The range includes: short, dark wispy beards, moderate length full beards, longer, full beards. Examples of these types of beards are shown Figure 3.40 to 3.43).

¹¹⁰ Banks, (ed.) *Beaglehole*, Vol. 2, p. 15.

¹¹¹ Anderson in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 810.

¹¹² Parkinson, p. 97.

¹¹³ Parkinson, p. 119.

¹¹⁴ As previously noted, it can only be tentative due to the fact that we do not know how often Parkinson may have redrawn the same individuals.



Figure 3.40 Parkinson, B.L. MS 23920 f. 56, showing short, black wispy beard.



Figure 3.41 Parkinson, B.L. MS 23920 f. 61(d), showing full, medium-length beard.



Figure 3.42 Parkinson, B.L. MS 23920 f. 64(f), showing longer, full beard.

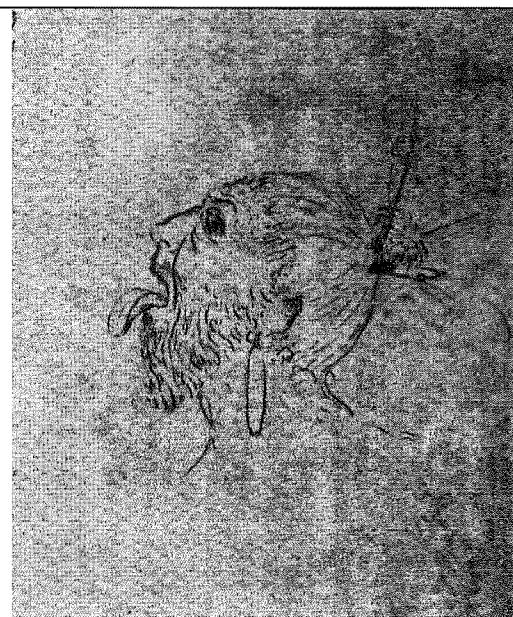


Figure 3.43 Parkinson, B.L. MS 23920 f. 60(d), showing short dark beard.

Hodges's portraits of men with bushy hair illustrate that they were also bearded, and his 1773 work, *A party of Maoris in a canoe* (Figure 3.31) further showed that many Maori of the period wore beards. Of the total of seventeen figures in the waka, ten bearded figures are seated facing the viewer. Three Maori facing the viewer, including standing the speaker, are apparently clean shaven, although one

may be a youth. Of the remaining figures, one facing viewer has the lower half of face obscured, while the last three are turned away from viewer, so that it is impossible to determine whether they were bearded or not. Although there is no evidence that Hodges made specific notes recording his observations, it is probable that the image is a faithful depiction of his impression. This would suggest that about half of the adult Maori male population were bearded at this time. Webber likewise showed an evenly mixed range of bearded and non-bearded Maori, as can be seen in Figure 3.33 and Figure 3.39.

However, the growth of facial hair may have been affected by the amount of moko on the face. Forster commented on one individual seen in Queen Charlotte Sound:

'Some of these were strangely marked in the face with deeply excavated spiral lines; and one of them in particular, a tall and strong man, and nearly middle-aged, had these marks very regularly on his chin, cheeks, forehead, and nose, so that his beard, which would otherwise have been very thick, now consisted only of a few straggling hairs. This man's name was Tringo-Waya....¹¹⁵

French descriptions of the period support British observations, encountering a similar diversity of hair type and beard. De l'Horme had described the Maori hair as long and straight, being tied on top of their heads.¹¹⁶ However, he gave much more detailed information on facial hair.

In general the men do not have much of a beard. I did see an old man who had a well-developed one. Nonetheless, I got the impression that they have no liking for hair growing on the face, and they pull it out as much as they can. But just the same it grows despite their efforts, and they do not have the skill for cutting it, which greatly annoys them. One day one of the savages came into my cabin while I was in the process of shaving. He seemed so enchanted with the ease with which the razor cut my beard that he asked me to cut his, which I did, as much for my own satisfaction as for his. He did not lack for admirers amongst his companions, who wanted me to do the same for them, but I was not prepared to go to those efforts.¹¹⁷

The later eighteenth-century French explorers also recorded a range of hair types and styles, as well as bearded individuals. D'Auribeau had noted beards worn by members of two canoe parties:

Their hair is black, as are their beards; ... some were wearing quite long beards under their chins; ... others were clean-shaven.¹¹⁸

In his account of the same meeting, Raoul wrote:

The men seemed to us all very well-built and fairly tall, but with European faces and bearded. Some have straight hair and others have slightly curly hair but almost all wear it knotted on the top of their heads.¹¹⁹

¹¹⁵ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 220.

¹¹⁶ de l'Horme, in *Extracts from Journals Relating to the Visit to New Zealand of the French Ship St Jean Baptiste in December 1769 Under the Command of J.F.M. de Surville*, Transcription and Translation by Isabel Olliver and Cheryl Hingley With and Appendix of Charts and Drawings Compiled by Jeremy Spencer. Alexander Turnbull Library Endowment Trust in association with the National Library of New Zealand, Wellington, 1982, p. 125.

¹¹⁷ de l'Horme, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, p. 124.

¹¹⁸ d'Auribeau in *Extracts ... Recherche, Espérance, 1793*, p. 33.

Likewise, Avignon, writing at the same time, noted, 'These islanders had extremely black hair and beards.'¹²⁰

Pre-nineteenth century sources of documentary evidence all concur, and are supported by graphic evidence. Maori of that period were observed with a range of hair types and many were bearded, although several eyewitnesses noted that Maori were not particularly keen on having beards.

WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLE

There is no evidence of pre-eighteenth century women's hairstyle as the members of Tasman's expedition did not record seeing any women. The first European evidence of Maori women's hair therefore comes from the latter third of the eighteenth century.

The descriptions of women's hair from this period are varied and inconsistent. Most of the journals of Cook's expeditions noted that the majority of Maori women had short hair, which was generally unadorned. Banks wrote, 'Their hair, which they wore short, was seldom tied, and if it was it was behind their heads and never ornamented with feathers.'¹²¹ Parkinson reported that in contrast to the men's hair, 'the womens hangs down...'¹²² which suggests that it had some length. Monkhouse noted that he had not observed one woman with her hair tied up.¹²³ However, Cook recorded:

some of the women wear it long and loose upon their shoulders, old women especialy, others again wear it crop'd short.¹²⁴

The summary from the 1769-70 expedition therefore gives three variations: short hair, longer loose hair, and hair tied behind the head. The analysis of Parkinson's work show that he drew few figures which can be identified with certainty as female. Tables 3.5 and 3.6 show that all figures which appear to be of women, of whom the hair can be seen, have short hairstyles.¹²⁵ One of these figures is shown below (Figure 3.44), presumed to have been drawn in October 1769,¹²⁶ when the *Endeavour* was off the East Coast of the North Island.

¹¹⁹ Raoul, in *Extracts ... Recherche, Espérance, 1793*, p. 51.

¹²⁰ Avignon, in *Extracts ... Recherche, Espérance, 1793*, p. 54.

¹²¹ Banks, (ed.) *Beaglehole*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

¹²² Parkinson, p. 97.

¹²³ *Beaglehole*, p. 586.

¹²⁴ Cook, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, pp. 278-80.

¹²⁵ MS 23920, f.60 (a) is identified by Joppein and Smith as female, but I believe this figure has a dark wispy beard and is therefore male.

¹²⁶ Joppein and Smith, Vol. 1, p. 168.



Figure 3.44 Parkinson, B.L. Add. MS 23920, f.60 (f).

Short hair was also the most frequently observed female hairstyle on Cook's second voyage. George Forster's journal describes the family at Dusky Sound. He wrote that while the man wore his hair tied, 'the women had it cut short.'¹²⁷



Figure 3.45 Hodges, [A Maori woman, carrying a child]. B.M. Department of Prints and Drawings, London. 201.c.5, no 283.



Figure 3.46 Hodges, (detail of Figure 3.45) showing hairstyle of the woman and child.

¹²⁷ Forster, Vol. 1, p.138.

Hodges sketched one of these women (Figure 3.45, detail Figure 3.46). The woman's hairstyle is ambiguous. It is tousled, and without the evidence to the contrary, from both Forster and Cook at Dusky Bay, it could easily be assumed from the drawing to be have been knotted. The hair of the child is short and curling.

Other women drawn by Hodges had short hair. In the examples (Figure 3.47 and Figure 3.48) Hodges portrayed a girl who had come on board the *Resolution* at Queen Charlotte Sound, first using charcoal and subsequently in red chalk. In the second image, Hodges has reproduced the short curling hairstyle of the young woman of his first image.



Figure 3.47 Hodges, Maori girl, Canada

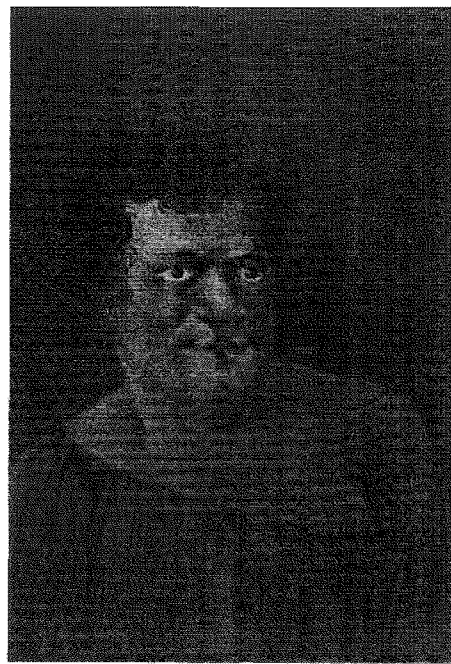


Figure 3.48 Hodges, Maori girl, N.L.A., Canberra

However, the evidence of Crozet, written in 1772, is not consistent with the British observations. According to Crozet, 'The married women arrange their hair the same as the men; the girls allow their hair to fall naturally on their neck, and cut it so that it does not grow below the shoulders.'¹²⁸ Crozet had previously described the hairstyle of the Maori male as being tied up in a brush style,¹²⁹ so his evidence suggests that women also wore their hair tied up. Crozet's evidence is supported by another member of the *Mascarin* and *Marquis de Castries* French expedition. Le

¹²⁸ Crozet's *Voyage, to Tasmania, New Zealand and the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the years 1771-1772*, translated by H. Ling Roth, 1891. Truslove & Shirley, London, p. 38.

¹²⁹ Crozet's *Voyage to Tasmania, New Zealand and the Ladrone Islands, and the Philippines in the years 1771-1772*, p. 37.

Dez¹³⁰ wrote of the women: 'They too wear their hair tied up on the crown of the head, where it forms a sort of aigrette.'¹³¹ The other French journals of that expedition do not differentiate between hairstyles of men and women. As the British and French vessels did not call at exactly the same places, the evidence indicates that there were regional variations in women's hairstyle.

On Cook's last voyage, Anderson omitted to comment on the hairstyles of women. Webber created predominantly group scenes and made only one portrait which may be of a Maori woman who has short hair with a fringe.¹³² The female figures in his works *Maori Huts* (Figure 3.39) and *Captain Cook in Ship Cove, Queen Charlotte Sound* (Figure 3.34) all appear to have short hair. There is only one figure, included in Webber's pencil drawing *View in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand* (Figure 3.49), which may be a female with a different hairstyle.

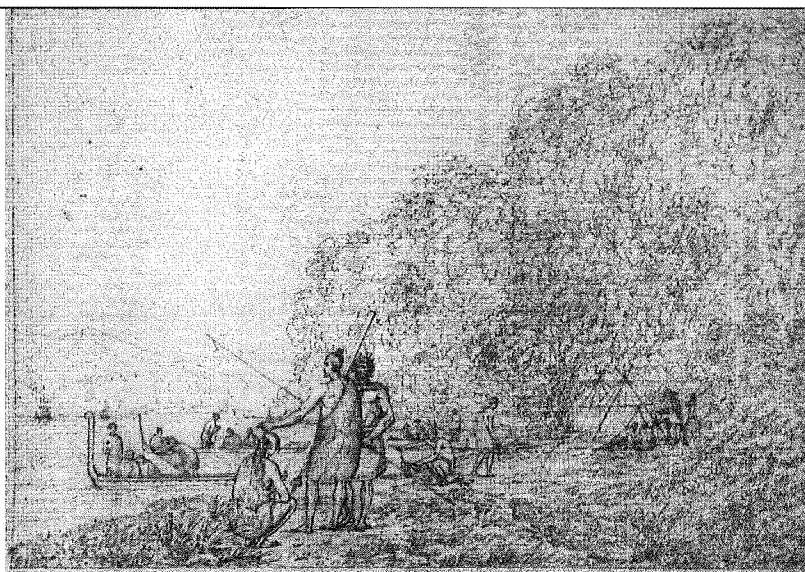


Figure 3.49 Webber, *View in Queen Charlotte Sound, New Zealand*.

The figure, presenting a rear view and squatting on the ground near the two central Maori, has long hair bound at the back of the head, and falling to the lower shoulder blades (Figure 3.50). None of the recorded descriptions discussed men wearing their hair in this fashion. It is closest to Banks's description of women, 'Their hair...

¹³⁰ First lieutenant on board the *Marquis de Castries*, 1772.

¹³¹ '... elles portent comme eux leurs cheveux attachés sur le sommet de la tête où ils forment une espèce d'Egrette...' Le Dez, in *Extracts from the Journals of the ships Mascarine and Marquis de Castries 1772*, pp. 318-9.

¹³² The identification as Maori is not conclusive. This work, MS 17277, No. 22, is entitled in pencil 'Native of Cook's River N. W. America'. Joppein and Smith suggest she is Polynesian rather than North American. Joppein and Smith, Vol. 3, p. 286.

was seldom tied, and if it was it was behind their heads and never ornamented with feathers.¹³³

Despite Banks's comment, re-examination of eighteenth century evidence shows that there was some variety of hairstyle among women, although the predominant style observed was short hair.



Figure 3.50 Webber, detail from (Figure 3.49) showing the hairstyle of the crouching figure.

¹³³ Banks, (ed.) *Beaglehole*, Vol. 2, p. 16.

SECTION E: Nineteenth century evidence

MEN'S HAIRSTYLE

Forty years after Cook had gone, in 1820, the Russian expedition of Bellingshausen visited Queen Charlotte Sound, but little change was observed in hairstyles there.

Bellingshausen recorded:

These natives adorn their heads by tying the hair into a bunch at the crown and sticking a few white feathers through it.¹³⁴

The ship's surgeon Gálkin, observed:

Their long, thick black hair falls onto the face in disorder. Some cut it however, and others, drawing it together, tie it in a bunch on the crown of the head.¹³⁵

Simonov, a scientist and ethnologist, noted a variation of hairstyle:

The hair was long and black, straight in some cases, curly in others. From behind, they let their hair fall in long locks, but at the front they cut it....¹³⁶



Figure 3.51 Mikhaylov, Two men sketched at Waikawa Bay.

Mikhaylov's images show that there was little change in the varieties of Maori hairstyle. He depicted some men who appear to have with short curling hair (Figure 3.51), some with their hair tied in a bunch on their crown (Figure 3.53) and one with long untied hair (Figure 3.52).

¹³⁴ Bellingshausen in Barratt, pp. 41-42.

¹³⁵ N. Gálkin in Barratt, p. 64.

¹³⁶ I.M. Simonov in Barrett, p. 48.



Figure 3.52 Mikhaylov, 'The Old Chief' from Little Waikawa Bay

The old chief of Waikawa Bay was portrayed by Mikhaylov (Figure 3.52). His face shows evidence of a slight moustache and beard. He was drawn with his hair untied, but the journals of the members of the Russian expedition members frequently refer to 'the old chief' so there is no doubt about his status, despite his hair not being tied up on his head.

A number drawings by Mikhaylov were lithographed by Fridrits. One of these portrays the figure of a chief (Figure 4.30). This shows the hair tied up, and ornamented with feathers, much as hair was worn in the time of Cook. Two reproduced works are *War Dances of New Zealand South, in Queen Charlotte Sound* (Figure 3.53) and *The Main Settlement of New Zealand South in Queen Charlotte Sound*. Although they are less clear, groups of Maori in these works also confirm that there was little change in male hairstyle in that period.

Two of the trio of Maori in the detail of the image (Figure 3.54) are wearing their hair tied in a bunch. The third man is probably wearing the same style, because his hair looks close to his head, although the bunch is not visible. Of the group on the right it is not possible to be certain; however, the seated figure is probably female with what appears to be shoulder length hair.

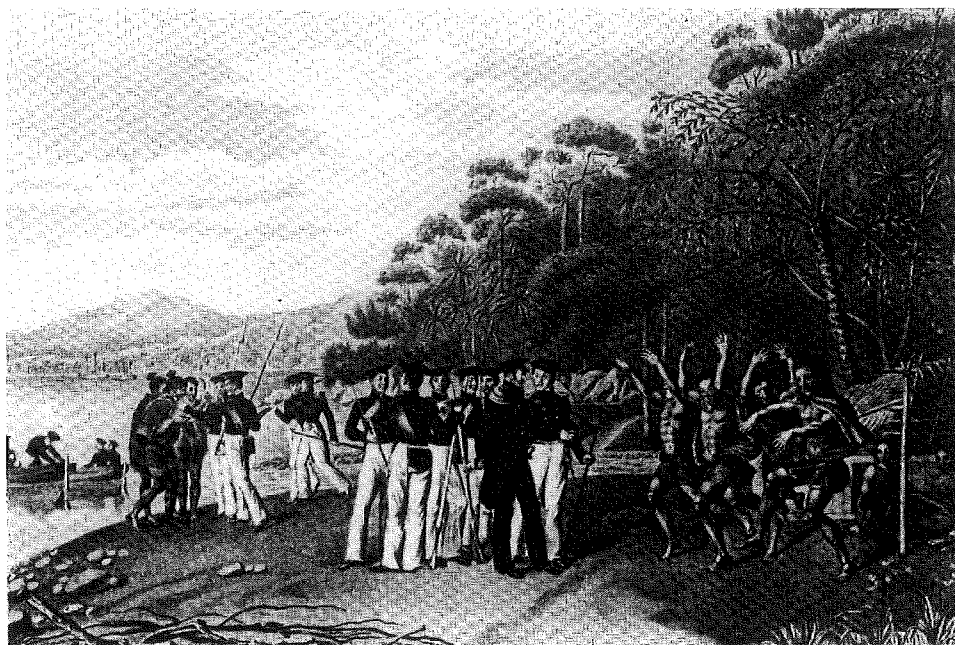


Figure 3.53 *Mikhailov, Maori War Dance*



Figure 3.54 Detail of Figure 3.53, left above.

Mikhailov produced other scenes during the Russian sojourn in Queen Charlotte Sound, but the available reproductions do not allow definitive analysis. Despite this, however, enough Russian evidence exists to indicate that although some hair was worn loose, Maori men still appeared to favour bunches of hair tied up at the crown of their heads.

WOMEN'S HAIRSTYLE

Only one of the journals of the 1820 Bellingshausen expedition made particular reference to the hairstyle of women. Gálkin wrote, 'they had long black hair which fell untidily over their face....' Mikhaylov made a sketch of one woman, who was identified as the chief of Waikawa's wife (Figure 3.55). She has short, tousled hair, indicating that there had been no major change in women's hairstyle in the region of Queen Charlotte Sound since Cook was there, forty-three years before.



Figure 3.55 Mikhaylov, the wife of 'The Old Chief' , Little Waikawa Bay.

CONCLUSION

The amalgamation of diverse forms of evidence in this chapter completely discredits the stereotypical image of traditional Maori hairstyle. It reveals that rather than the ubiquitous 'topknot' of Buck and Mead, the hairstyles of Maori men incorporated a complex variety of differently named styles that could convey a range of distinct meanings in traditional society. It shows that similarly, women wore their hair in different ways which also communicated information; and it refutes the assertion that Maori men did not have beards.

The variety of prestigious male hairstyles reflects the importance of this element of personal appearance in pre-contact society. Fourteen different names of style were recovered but not the specific styles; ethnologists identified some styles by particular names, but their descriptions did not always concur. The traditional sources examined have suggested nine diverse styles, including untied loose hair. Maori differentiated between knots and bunches of long hair; such knots and bunches were either placed singly in different places on the head, or combined in groups of varying numbers. Hatupatu's six styles included having his hair loose;

loosened hair with a single knot over the centre of his forehead; hair tied into four knots; as well as one bunch at the back of his head; two bunches over his temples; and finally a total of five bunches. Kahungunu had seven plaits forming a knot, while Tinirau had eight knots of hair 'on his neck'. Ruapururu wore eight plaits turned up on a frame. Investigation of Matukutakotako's long hair, makawe, suggested that the 'plaits' of nineteenth century interpretations might more appropriately be identified as dreadlocks. Material evidence supported this traditional evidence; an Austronesian mask with dreadlocks of hair piled up on a supplejack type of frame provided an analogy for the legendary style of Ruapururu. In turn, the graphic evidence of Gilsemans's image showed large heads that were probably the artist's attempts to convey the bulk of large hairstyles which are completely in keeping with oral tradition. A total of six variations of male style were identified from European journals and graphic imagery and demonstrated a certain degree of consistency during the time from Tasman's voyage in 1642 to Bellingshausen's in 1820. These styles included long, loose unkempt hair; the cut brush-like bunch; the short tufted bunch; the small piki roll; the double-knot; and short curling hair.

Hairstyle was clearly a non-verbal means of communicating status. However, while traditional evidence predominantly demonstrates the long tied styles being used as indicators of high rank, other styles could indicate different states. The wearing of hair in an unkempt, rapa style, was a sign of a person being in a tapu state, giving a rationale for the dishevelled appearance observed at Queen Charlotte Sound on Cook's second voyage. Rapa mamae, also unkempt, generally indicated mourning for a death that was unavenged. A shaven or closely cropped head likewise indicated that the wearer was in mourning, but with the retention of an unkempt lock at the temple, a reureu or toitoi, it could indicate that the deceased was a close relative of the wearer.

Hairstyles could also signal regional affiliation. Although the double-knotted hairstyle which Parkinson and Monkhouse recorded on the East Coast is recognised as a regional style, the concept of other localised styles has not previously been explored. The piki roll of the young chief from the Bay of Islands is one example that had been forgotten and which suggests that regional styles with local names may have occurred in other places. It hints at the substantial loss that Maori culture has incurred through the notion that all topknots are the same; such local variations might have helped explain the number of different style names.

Although there was considerably less information about women's hairstyles, the available evidence suggests that they also wore their hair in a variety of ways, including some previously thought to be restricted to men. The hair of legendary women such as Taranga, Maikukumakaka, and Kearoa appears to have been worn in tied or knotted styles. Combined with the evidence of carved ancestral female figures this tends to support the same concept of visual communication, the long tied or knotted hair of women manifesting their prominent rank. The evidence of dressed and netted hair of one presumably old 'burial' upholds this hypothesis, in that a special form of burial would seem unlikely if the young woman involved had not held important status. Eighteenth century French observations suggest that in some regions a tied style was maintained; Crozet and Le Dez documented women with their hair tied up on the crown of the head where it formed some kind of tuft or plume, although they did not record whether the women were also of high standing. There were surprisingly few graphic images of women, almost all of which showed women with short hair.

The rationale for the predominantly short hairstyles that were recorded by members of Cook's expeditions is less clear. However, a speculative explanation may be found in the nineteenth century evidence of women having hair closely cut to indicate mourning. Members of almost every settlement would be likely to include some in mourning, and short hair of varying lengths would be a natural consequence of the cropped style. Nevertheless, while the British noted that the hair of most women was worn short, they also observed that some older women wore their hair long and loose about the shoulders, although it was seldom tied.

In contrast, there was overwhelming evidence of Maori wearing beards. Although traditional sources supplied negligible information about Maori with beards, the graphic evidence of six men over a period of 178 years established that contrary to popular belief, adult males were often, if sparsely, bearded. In this, the artists Parkinson, Spöring, Hodges, Webber and Mikhaylov supported journal evidence of their respective expeditions and that of eighteenth century French expeditions. Despite a broad continuity of practice, the re-examination of evidence shows that previous ideas about Maori hair and hairstyle have been greatly oversimplified. This oversimplification has obscured not only the variety of styles, but also the complex, unspoken means of communication, signs of status, social circumstance and regional affiliation. The rediscovery of this element of personal appearance demonstrates the individual vitality that existed within cultural practice, and hints at the potential range of information yet to be retrieved from the past.

CHAPTER 4 EPHEMERAL HAIR ORNAMENT

Just as the length and style in which hair was worn was significant in Maori society, so too was ornamentation of the head. Like hairstyle, hair adornment was a further means of indicating identification and status; consequently, it was of major importance to a person of high standing who wished to make an appropriate visual impression. Yet the same concepts of over-simplification have overflowed from hairstyle to head adornment. Although Maori hair adornment comprised a varied range, the common perception is very limited, comprising of a comb and a few feathers. In fact, the variety incorporated the use of oils from titoki berries and shark liver, with the use of red ochre, and extended from one-piece heru (Maori combs) carved from whale, bird and human bone, and single piece or composite heru that were made of wood, to a neglected range of ephemeral feathered and botanical items. While oils and ochre were still in use in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, evidence of their use is sparse and is neither available from material sources nor apparent from contemporary graphic images. In contrast, heru are relatively enduring objects; many have been collected and documented in the past.¹ In comparison, ephemeral forms of hair ornament have been ignored. This chapter argues that as with other elements of dress, feathered and botanical ornaments were not only more varied and complex than has been previously held, but also more valued than formerly recognised.

Mead pointed out that styles may take some centuries to develop fully; he noted that the 'topknot' adorned with a single feather recorded by Tasman had changed only 'slightly to a 'topknot', with two or three white feathers, plus a decorative comb'² by the time of Cook's first expedition 137 years later. In comparison, Buck recorded a greater variety of feathers that were used:

Feathers were stuck into the topknot by their quills, the tail feathers of the huia, black with white tips, being regarded as the most valuable. Feathers of the albatross (toroa), long-tailed cuckoo (koekoea), and heron (kotuku) were also valued.³

Despite Buck's record, Mead's perception has predominated over the past thirty years, that the customary Maori male 'topknot' was principally dressed with plain white feathers and sometimes a heru. At the same time, because Buck and Mead do not discuss customary female hair ornaments it has become accepted that women did not adorn their hair. These assumptions are inadequate. This chapter presents

¹ E.g. W. Shawcross, 1964. 'An Archaeological Assemblage of Maori Combs', *JPS*, Vol. 73, pp. 284-398. H.D. Skinner, 1930. 'A Maori Bone Decorative Comb from Riverton', *JPS*, Vol. 39, pp. 284-285.

² Mead, 1969. p. 27.

details of a number of feathered and botanical ornaments that have been neglected by previous research. It achieves this by scrutinizing traditional evidence to ascertain the customary use of head-dress, and to demonstrate that like hairstyle, some forms of ornament were significant, valued symbols of identification and status. It gathers descriptions of previously uncertain ornaments from oral tradition, and examines material evidence to indicate the extent of trade in ornamental items. Parallel to the basic constancy of cultural practice, the ongoing development of style is shown by documentary and graphic evidence, particularly where eighteenth-century graphic evidence reveals a variety of esoteric feathered head-dresses that are no longer known as part of Maori dress. Throughout the chapter, there is consistent confirmation of the emphasis Maori placed on creating the consummate appearance for occasions of major significance, and the amalgamation of evidence brings to light the diversity of Maori head adornment, despite the fact that sometimes descriptions are incomplete and the form of the ornaments not fully identified.

SECTION A: Traditional evidence

RAUKURA

The kura, or raukura, was the most important head-dress in Maori tradition, but its origins are complex and obscure. The word kura has a wide range of meanings, being translated as both 'red' and 'ornamented with feathers'; the kura was identified as an ornament made of red feathers,⁴ but its symbolism was multi-layered. Only certain people were entitled to wear the kura. These were individuals of high rank, with mana (power associated with status) and knowledge of sacred learning.⁵ The kura became a sign of the status and sacred erudition of the wearer, and therefore of his mana. In this way it also became a synonym for a chief, for something precious, and for learning, and ultimately for 'school'.

Tradition gives the source of the original kura as the Kura-tawhiti, a tree which grew in Hawaiki, in which numbers of birds flocked together.⁶ Tropical birds are typically more brightly coloured than those in New Zealand; the conjunction of colour and

³ Buck, 1949, p. 284.

⁴ S. Percy Smith, 1893, in to his translation of *The Coming of the Arawa and Tainui Canoes from Hawaiki to New Zealand*, by Tarakawa Takaanui, in *JPS* Vol. 2, p. 234.

⁵ Throughout central Polynesia the term kura was applied to the red feathers used for head-dresses and belts of high chiefs. Sir Peter Buck, 1949. *The Coming of the Maori*. Whitcombe and Tombs Ltd, Maori Purposes Fund Board, Wellington, p.50.

⁶ Hare Hongi, 1893. 'The Kura-tawhiti,' notes in *JPS*, 1893, Vol. 2, p. 123.

ornament in kura presents the hypothesis that the birds gathered in the Kura-tawhiti were red.

The long convention of kura in Maori culture goes back to stories of arrival in Aotearoa. According to one story, when Tama-te-kapua brought the Arawa canoe to Aotea, Tauninihi was the chief who drew the attention of his colleagues to the redness he saw in the trees along the shoreline. Believing that kura were going to be more plentiful in the new land than in Hawaiki, he cast the one he was wearing into the sea, and his example was followed by others on board the canoe. When the red sources turned out to be no more than blooms of pohutukawa (or in other versions, rata) they regretted having thrown their ornaments away.⁷

It was customary practice for Maori to name prestigious items that were worn or carried, such as ornaments or weapons, especially those that were handed down through generations. In keeping with this practice, the name of Tauninihi's kura was Taiwhakaea;⁸ this naming is proof that kura were considered significant items.

Other headdresses were so highly esteemed that they acquired their own history and the accumulated mana of their historical owners. The first migration of Ngati Kahungunu to Te Mahia Peninsula and Te Wairoa, had a story of an extraordinary kura, a particularly celebrated and sacred heirloom which was known as Te Kura-a-Tuhaeto, or Te Kura-Patapata-nui. The mana of this headdress was even greater than that of the famous kura of Tai-ninihi,⁹ and in consequence the kura was of great value to those who possessed it. It was reportedly brought into use when the warrior-chief Tapuae invaded Poverty Bay. In order to keep his presence concealed until he was ready to attack, he prohibited his war party from foraging for food, as a result of which they were nearly starved. To save the situation Tapuae ordered the Kura-a-Tuhaeto to be exhibited to his men, and as they gazed upon it their hunger cravings left them, and they were miraculously revived.¹⁰ That kura were deemed to hold such fabled power reflects their importance in traditional society; but at the same time, this story also proposes that kura could be inherited.

⁷ Later, when he learned that his kura had been washed ashore at Mahiti beach, Tauninihi sought to recover it. Grey, n.d., *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 106-7.

⁸ In another version, it was Tama-te-kapua who encouraged Tuarangi-murua and Ika to throw away their kura which were named Tu-he-po and Tu-he-ao. See Tarakawa Takaanui, 1893. 'The Coming of the Arawa and Tainui Canoes from Hawaiki to New Zealand', translated by S.P. Smith, in *JPS*, Vol. 2, pp. 231-252.

⁹ See *JPS*, Vol. 2, p.234. This is presumably Tauninihi.

¹⁰ W.E. Gudgeon, 1896. 'The Maori Tribes of the East Coast of New Zealand' Part iv, in *JPS*, Vol. 5, 1896. pp.1-12.

The form of the kura is not known but red feathers may have been used to devise a distinctive and significant creation. The process of 'making' in the tradition recorded below suggests that these ornaments were more than mere bunches of feathers worn in the hair, and that there was some element of assemblage in the kura:

Ue-nuku made red plumes [he kura] for his children to wear on their heads, with which they were much pleased. When visiting the various homes of their people they lost one of these, and after vain search returned home and told their father of their loss, which caused sorrow to the old man.¹¹

The unsuccessful attempts to find the missing kura and the father's subsequent sorrow at its loss in the concluding details in the story point to the significance attached to this ornament. Tauninihi was similarly unsuccessful when he sought to recover his kura after learning that it had been washed ashore at Mahiti beach, even though its finder, Mahina, was identified.¹² Both stories indicate not only that the kura were valued enough to try and recover, but that they were also somehow identifiable. This suggests that there may have been an element of individual style about specific kura, or perhaps they may simply have been recognisable from the techniques, or the numbers or lengths of feathers that had been used to create them.

Traditions give some suggestion of a possible shape, depth of colour and source of feathers in their efforts to describe the kura. According to Tarakawa Takaanui, the kura was a red head-dress 'made of feathers like a large tawhara,¹³ red or brown – a red that is strong in the darkness of a house.'¹⁴ Shand alludes to kura in his records of Moriori traditions. He stated that Tawhaitere was 'the name of a certain green paroquet, whose peculiar red [head crest] feathers were held in much esteem, and were made into ornaments for the head (*kura*)....'¹⁵ In Shand's translation of the story of Tu-moana, his sisters Ra Puhi and Ro Pua are approaching the pathway in the early dawn, when they see their brother's kura glittering and go to greet him.¹⁶ These details might suggest that the coruscating headdress contained something that was able to reflect light. Alternatively, however, the 'flash' of a sudden movement that can catch the eye, raises the question of whether the kura may have 'flashed' as a result of 'shimmering' rather than 'glittering'. This might imply that the

¹¹ White, 1887. *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 35. Cf. Upoko I. p. 18. Ka tahi ka mahia he kura mo ana tamariki, ka oti ka noho aua tamariki me ta ratou kura ka haerere aua tamariki....

¹² Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 106-7.

¹³ The tawhara is the female flower of the kiekie.

¹⁴ Tarakawa Takaanui, 1893, 'The Coming of Te Arawa and Tainui Canoes from Hawaiki to New Zealand,' in *JPS* Vol. 2. Translated by S. Percy Smith. pp. 231-252. (p. 234 footnote 3).

¹⁵ Alexander Shand, 1895. 'The Moriori people of the Chatham Islands: their Traditions and History,' in *JPS* Vol 4, p. 176.

¹⁶ Shand, 1895, in *JPS* Vol 4, p. 213. 'I tche ata kurakura ka puti atū ko Ro Puhi rauu ko Ro Pu(a) ko waho; tchiei tomo ato ki tch ara ki ri pēpē, ka hiko ta rauira o tu kura o Tu-moana,' p. 220.

kura had some form of delicate feathery attachments that quivered at the slightest motion of the wearer.

The kura and raukura appear to be synonyms for the same type of prestigious ornament. Grey's collected evidence shows that for one of Hatupatu's rallying speeches to his feigned forces, he displayed his chiefly status by wearing a raukura named Te Au-o-Karewa and his hair tied into four knots;¹⁷ while White recorded that the raukura was a head-dress made of feathers that was highly esteemed by Maori 'as an ornament of great value'.¹⁸

Certainly the red feathered headdress was an instant sign of chiefly rank. When Maru-tuahu was searching for his father Hotunui, he left his comb and gourd of oil hidden in a cave called Ana-kotaha, near Tarata. At night, he returned to the cave from the Pu-anoano Pa to wash himself, anoint his head and adorn himself with a raukura. In the morning, his high-ranking status was proven to the local people by his stately appearance.¹⁹

Tarakawa Takaanui had ascribed a shape and colour to the kura, but aside from Shand's reference to the red head crest feathers of the green paroquet or kakariki, there seems to be no further information about them. There is no suggestion in oral tradition of what feathers were used, nor of the quantity required for the head-dress. Neither is there any indication of when kura ceased to be made.²⁰

VARIETIES OF FEATHERS AS ORNAMENT

In a different version of Maru-tuahu's story, great detail is accorded to his headdress concerning the numbers and variety of feathers he employed in creating his appearance:

...he went to a stream, and washed his hair in the water, and then came back and combed it very carefully, and after combing it, he tied it up in a knot, and stuck fifty red Kaka feathers in his head, and amongst them he placed the plume of a white heron, and the tail of a huia, as ornaments...²¹

As the story of Maru-tuahu indicates, the tail feathers of the kotuku (white heron) and huia were other sources of chiefly adornment. The feathers of the kotuku were so

¹⁷ Grey, *Nga Mahi a Nga Tupuna*, p. 47.

¹⁸ White, *AMH*. Book IV, p. 43. White notes that the rau-kura was a head-dress made of feathers that was highly esteemed by Maori 'as an ornament of great value'.

¹⁹ White, *AMH*. Book IV, p. 43.

²⁰ Buck found it curious that the manufacture of the kura headdress was not continued despite the use of red feathers for other decorative purposes, Buck, *The Coming of the Maori*, p. 284. Although few New Zealand birds have red feathers, and those of the kaka and kea, like the kakariki, are small and lacking in quantity, their rarity in itself would maintain their desirability. This question would be best pursued in archaeological records.

prized that captured birds would be kept in small cages for their feathers, and the different types of feathers were identified by name.²² The extent of nomenclature confirms their importance in Maori culture.

The titireia (tall whalebone comb) and long kotuku plume worn by the young chief Takarangi, leader of the attacking Ngati Awa force, proclaimed his status at the siege at Whakarewa Pa. His ornaments attracted the attention of the elderly chief Rangirarunga who called down to the younger man. Takarangi carried water to his thirsting enemy, knowing that he had a beautiful daughter named Rau-mahora. He won the approval of her father and married Rau-mahora, thereby bringing peace to the region.²³ The story not only demonstrates how prestigious feathers are part of the cultural system of status recognition, it also shows how the chiefly individual's behaviour is remembered and handed down.

The now extinct huia had twelve black tail feathers tipped with white. These could be worn singly, or the entire tail might be smoke-dried and worn in the hair.²⁴ Hamilton recorded that huia tail feathers were also used in ancient times to make a special kind of war headdress, the twelve feathered marereko.²⁵

The story of Hatupatu exhorting his warriors, in the previous chapter, gives an indication that a variety of feathers were used, and worn in a number of ways. Other favoured species included the long, red tail feathers of the tropical amokura and the long, barred tail feathers of the koekoea or migratory cuckoo. According to Hamilton, other feathers were reportedly worn in a pare or fillet, but no examples are known.²⁶

The white feathers of toroa (albatross) and takupu (gannet) were traditional items of adornment. A storyteller described his feather-adorned hero:

You would have thought he had just come from the gannet island of Karewa, in the Bay of Plenty, where birds' feathers abound.²⁷

The quotation implies that the abundance of these feathers was enviable.

²¹ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 184.

²² The dorsal plumes were known as rau o titapu,²² the larger wing feathers as meremere, the smaller were known as awe, the secondaries, wing-coverts, and scalpulary as whatiripapa, and the primaries or the extreme feathers of the wings as hikurangi. Hamilton, 1901, fn p. 302.

²³ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 215-7.

²⁴ Phillips, W.J., 1963. *The Book of the Huia*. Whitcomb and Tombs, Christchurch. pp. 48-9, citing J.D. Eyns, 1876, in *Trans. N.Z. Inst.*, Vol. VIII, p. 204.

²⁵ Hamilton, 1901, p. 302.

²⁶ Hamilton, 1901, p. 303.

²⁷ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, p. 144.

FEMALE ADORNMENT

Mythologies tell of high-ranking women with feathers adorning their hair when they are dressing for a specific intention. In the Ngati Mahuta story of Rongomaiwahine leaving her husband for Kahungunu, her mother helped her create her appearance. She combed her daughter's hair and decorated it with 'the most beautiful feathers of the amo-kura ... and the toroa ... and clothed her in a kaitaka....' in readiness to go to her new husband. However, in the Maori text, Rongomaiwahine also has her raukura.²⁸

Similarly, at Hataitai, the hair of Rakaitekura was adorned with feathers as part of her preparation for an event of some consequence. As Rakaitekura had been about to give birth, her husband Tumaro recited all the customary aids to her delivery. However, when complications delayed the birth, Tumaro became suspicious and his wife's infidelity with Te-Aohikuraki was discovered. Tumaro's reaction was to keep apart from his wife until the appropriate purification procedures had been accomplished. Then, early one morning, Tumaro visited Rakaitekura; he instructed her to put red ochre on herself and the baby, to put on her best garments and adorn her head with feathers. Rakaitekura did so, without knowing what he had in mind. When she was ready, Tumaro led her to the house of Te Aohikuraki. He handed Rakaitekura over to Te Aohikuraki saying 'Here is your wife and child.' Then he left, called together his hapu and moved away to the South Island.²⁹

The pattern is repeated in the story of Te Oahuruhuru, who felt degraded by the action of her husband in exposing her nakedness to his companions as she lay sleeping. Her sense of shame was such that she resolved to take her own life. She prepared herself by adorning her hair with feathers of huia, kotuku and toroa, and robed herself in her best kaitaka. Then she climbed to the top of a cliff. As her husband and his companions returned in their waka, she sang a lament, then leapt to her death in front of them.³⁰

All these stories reiterate the importance of creating an optimum appearance to signal a special event; in all cases, as 'bride', 'ex-wife' or *malheureuse*, the impressive state of dress served to focus attention on the significance of the

²⁸ White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 83. Cf. Vol. 3, Upoko III, p. 56. 'Ka whakaae te wahine ra ki te kupu a tana whaea, ka herua te mahunga o te kotiro ra e te whaea, tiaina iho nga raukura, me te Toroa, me te Amo-kura, ona raukura.'

²⁹ White, *AMH*, Vol., 3, p. 198.

³⁰ Hon. Sir Maui Pomare, and James Cowan, 1934. *Legends of the Maori*, Vol. 2. Southern Reprints, Papakura, New Zealand. pp.109-110.

occurrence. At the same time, the stories show that women of some importance used feathers to dress their hair for such occasions.

Oral tradition suggests a feathered headdress was an item of mourning apparel for women. Tinirau sent his wife Hine-te-iwaiwa to enlist the aid of Whakatau-potiki in avenging the death of Tuwhakararo. Whakatau-potiki directed her to give a great feast to the warriors, but not to attend the feast herself. Rather, adorning her head 'with a mourning dress of feathers,' Hine-te-iwaiwa was to remain seated in the 'house of mourning' awaiting further instructions.³¹ According to Best, in Tuhoe territory, this special item of headwear was worn by a close relative of the deceased during the period of mourning. More correctly described as a fillet or chaplet, without a crown, it was normally a band woven from fibre with some kind of material hanging from it. The band was placed around the head and tied at the back so that the attachments hung over the face and around the head, concealing the wearer. Sometimes the tail feathers of the kereru, still attached to the skin, were used, or those of the koko. The feathers swayed as the wearer moved about. Alternatively, the additions could be black, dried seaweed, or the epidermis of the kutakuta rush, in natural colours of white and pale yellow or dyed black and brown.³²

Best recorded another form of mourning cap that consisted of strings of dog hair.³³ Although no known examples exist, White provides descriptions of this type of potae taua in his novels. One of his fictional characters wore a potae taua made from a gourd fringed with dog hair. In the story, the woman had searched the cultivations to find a hue (calabash) that was the size of her head.

'She cut it in half with a cockle-shell, scraped the inside clean, and with sharp-pointed pieces of shell bored holes all round the rim, which she made larger and smoother by passing through them burning twigs of the manuka-tree.'

After this, the woman sought permission from a man who owned the best breed of kuri waere (long-haired dogs) to pluck long hairs from their tails. This dog hair was used complete her widow's cap, while the inside of the calabash was smeared with gum from the flax leaf to finish it. She had the tohunga repeat a karakia over her, then cut all the hair off her head, and put the cap on. Other characters in White's novel discuss the woman's potae taua, furnishing further details of this form of widow's cap. One remarks that it was not like those he had seen as a boy because the calabash came 'too far' on her head, the tufts of hair were not close enough

³¹ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 86-7.

³² Best, 1905. Art. XXV – 'Maori Eschatology', *The Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*, Vol. 38, pp. 149-239.

together and did not cover the whole of her face; and there were 'not enough of them in the plaits which wind round the rim to the tuft on the top of the calabash'.³⁴

Another potae taua is described as a skull cap fitted closely to the wearer's head, with black dog tail hair encircling her brow and blowing across her nose in the wind.³⁵ White commented that the cap was sacred and never usually taken off the widow's head but 'allowed to wear away in the course of time after the days of mourning were over'.³⁶ Although White's descriptions of these items are found in his novels, the level of detail suggests that he is describing something that he had seen.

BOTANICAL SOURCES OF ADORNMENT

Maori used a variety of plant sources as ornamental material for their hair, and leaves were worn by both men and women. Legend records Hatupatu wearing wreaths of diverse leaves. When making his way to Maketu, he reached Ngaukawakawa ahead of his brothers; there Hatupatu threw off the wreath of pohutukawa leaves he wore around his head. It took root and became a tree. At Kahuru, he threw off a wreath of totara leaves which likewise took root and grew.³⁷

In his Southland travels Herries Beattie documented that 'some of the men of old wore the *kauheke* or chaplets of ribbonwood. Chaplets were made of *toatoa* or celery-top pine.' He added that the wearing of this ornamentation was a *tohu rakitira*, a sign of chieftainship.³⁸

Usually found in high, mountainous regions, the *tikumu* or *celmesia* was a valued species of leaves. A line in an incantation of a Thames, Ngati Whatua *tohunga* urges his listeners to search for *tikumu*:

... E hoki koia ki te tonga kia patokia
Kia homai he ti-kumu...

Rather southwards turn, and seek
For prized ti-kumu plumes...³⁹

Not locally available around Thames, *tikumu* would have required some effort to acquire. Although Smith gives a romanticised translation of the incantation, he conveys the understanding that *tikumu* was valued, although whether for use by men

³³ E. Best, 1924. *Maori Religion and Mythology*. Dominion Museum Bulletin, No. 10 Dominion Museum, Wellington, II, p. 48.

³⁴ White, 1874. *Te Rou*, p. 158.

³⁵ White, J., 1940. *Revenge: a love tale of the Mount Eden tribe*. A.W.Reed (ed), A. H. and A. W. Reed, Wellington, pp.88-9.

³⁶ White, 1940. . *Revenge*, p. 105.

³⁷ Grey, *Polynesian Mythology*, pp. 142-3.

³⁸ H. Beattie, 1919. 'Traditions and Legends. Collected from the Natives of Murihiku.' (Southland, New Zealand). Part 9 in *JPS*, Vol. 28, pp. 42-51.

or women is unclear. Tregear recorded women as having worn the 'snowy down-like epidermis' of the tikumu and wharawhara, but gave no information of how this was used.⁴⁰ Moreover, Tregear identified wharawhara as asteli, but in some places wharawhara was the name applied to the epidermis of the tikumu itself, when it had been stripped away from the upper part of the leaf.⁴¹

These were prestigious items of adornment, but just as the association of an individual's hair with food was a highly offensive concept; so the use of parts from a plant that was a food source was an extension of that idea. An example of this being used as a form of humiliation occurred around 1800. When Tuhoe killed the Ngati-Awa chief Whakanoho-a-tai at Te Umu-hapuku, the victorious Tuhoe added insult to injury when they put taro leaves around the dead man's head. After that, the descendants of Whakanoho-a-tai adopted the name of Ngati-Pare-whawha, after the taro leaf garland, so that the insult would not be forgotten, and would ultimately be avenged.⁴²

The custom of wearing leaves around the head as a sign of mourning does not appear to be documented in pre-twentieth century literature; neither is it shown in nineteenth century graphic evidence such as that of Earle or Angas.⁴³ However, an early description was included in White's 1874 novel, *Te Rou*, when a group of people bringing two corpses home to their kainga (settlement) came towards their destination. It is included here because it presents a full picture which deserves some consideration.

"We have the dead with us, and we shall be looked at by those who own them. Go, you women and young men, into the forest and pluck the fern which climbs on the decayed trees, called taringa hakeke,⁴⁴ and let us wear it, as our fathers have done, as mourning for the dead."

³⁹ Smith, 1897. "The Peopling of the North..." In supplement to *JPS*, Vol. 6, 1897, pp. 102-106,

⁴⁰ A. Hamilton, 1901. *Maori Art*, The New Zealand Institute, Wellington, New Zealand, 1972 reprint, The Holland Press, London. p.302.

⁴¹ Ngarimu, Ranui, personal communication, Weaving hui, Tologa Bay, October 1999.

⁴² Best, 1925. *Tuhoe...* Vol. 1., p. 317.

⁴³ See for example, G.F. Angas, *Death Customs – the tangi*, TNZI, XLV, in *Early Painting of the Maori*, (ed.) A.W. Reed, 1979, p. 76. The closest to a wreath of leaves is a headband that appears to be plaited, worn by a crouching woman. Compare also, *Wai and Kahoki*, Plate IX TNZI, in Angas, *Maori Scenes and Portraits*, (ed.) A.W. Reed, 1979, p. 36. Angas states that Wai wears a headband of red cloth in mourning. Possibly the custom of wearing leaves was so familiar it was not recorded, in contrast to the tangi (or wailing) and waiata of lamentation, and the practice of tangihaehae (self laceration). Although outside the period of this research, reports of Maori wearing sprigs of evergreens and the white clematis flowers in their hair or on their hats were recorded at the funeral of Patuone in Devonport, 1872; subsequently the items were cast into his grave. C.O. Davis, 1876. *The Life and Times of Patuone, The Celebrated Ngapuhi Chief*. J.H. Field, Auckland, p. 124. In Northland, women customarily wore wreaths of puriri leaves for mourning. Florence Keene, 1963. *O Te Raki*, Paul's Book Arcade, Auckland and Hamilton, pp.176, 179.

⁴⁴ *Trichomanes reniforme* [sic].

The order was obeyed, and the women and young men returned with the ferns; and as they sat in rows, men with men, and women with women, each plaited the ferns among the hair of the person sitting before him or her, and all were adorned with this token of mourning.⁴⁵

White further described:

The fern used on these occasions is about the size of a child's hand, and is nearly round; it is about the same thickness as the leaf of a tree, and is fringed all round the edge with a small seed-pod; the stem is about as long as the breadth of the hand, and is quite flexible, which fits it for plaiting with the hair. The heat of the sun soon caused the ferns to wither and droop, hiding the hair and the face of the wearers.⁴⁶

White included considerably more detail in this passage than was necessary for the simple telling of a story. This level of detail, combined with fine points in the narrative⁴⁷ and in line with his stated intention,⁴⁸ tends to support his description as being based on recalled observation. The fern, which White identified as taringa hakeke, is today recognised as one of the filmy ferns, raurenga or kidney fern, *Trichomanes (Cardiomanes) reniforme*, Forst. f. This story supports general understanding of wreaths worn at times of mourning, and suggests that more information on the use of leaves to adorn the hair may be recoverable from old sources in isolated areas.

Hair ornamentation was generally an extension of the individual's hairstyle. The same concept of tapu that applied to the hair applied equally to the ornaments used to adorn Maori hairstyles. Comprehension of this belief makes it simple to understand the philosophy behind stories such as that outlined in the previous chapter, in which the comb of his elder brother could not be used to dress the hair of Ruatapu. As a visual extension of its owner, the hair ornament took on the tapu element of the owner's head. To use a borrowed head-dress or comb would be comparable to using the actual head of the comb owner, something that was physically and mentally impossible. The diversity of ephemeral ornaments recorded in traditional evidence shows Maori pleasure in creativity. At the same time, as in all societies, people with high rank had access to the most rare species, which in turn became indicators of status.

⁴⁵ The story was sited near the small Takapuna pa on the north bank of the Waima River, a tributary of the Hokianga. White, *Te Rou*, p. 207.

⁴⁶ White, *Te Rou*, p. 208.

⁴⁷ E.g. The men and women working separately on each others' hair, along with the fact that this fern does grow on tree trunks although more commonly on rocks, banks and forest floor in other parts of New Zealand.

⁴⁸ See f/n p. 17.

SECTION B: Material evidence

The nature of ephemeral material is that it exists for only a limited period. It is therefore not surprising that little exists in the form of material evidence; nor that the material which does survive is very fragile and difficult to examine. One such example is the potae taua or mourning headwear.

POTAE TAUA

Oral tradition substantiates the practice of wearing a special head-dress to indicate that the wearer was in mourning, although how widespread this custom was is not known. The form of the head-dress of feathers such as Hine-te-iwaiwa was told to wear is also unknown. While Best described a variety of materials that were used (refer Female adornment, p. 107), Hamilton recorded that some chaplets were sufficiently large to cover the entire head, being secured with ties under the chin, while others were reportedly adorned with heads, beaks or tails of birds.⁴⁹ None of these early examples appear to have survived and it is probable that such personal items were buried with their owners. Mead identified potae taua exclusively as a widow's item,⁵⁰ and nineteenth century photographs show Maori women in sombre European dress, with dark feathered items of headwear.⁵¹ Despite Mead's claim, two fully feathered muka caps of unknown age that entered the Taranaki Museum collection (A79.771 and A79.753) in the twentieth century, are listed as being worn by men in mourning. However, there are some ornamental feathered potae that seem reminiscent of Victorian smoking caps and their correlation to potae taua cannot be automatically assumed without further investigation.

Nonetheless, one genuine form of potae taua does exist in some museum collections. This is a fully shaped cap, woven of fibre, with tags of seaweed inserted by exactly the same technique as tags that are attached to garments (Figures 4.1 and 4.2). The seaweed is invariably black and brittle. There does not seem to have been any analysis of the seaweed species nor attempts at reconstruction, so the original appearance is not entirely clear. Although the name is not found elsewhere, Taylor identified this potae taua as a 'karapo'.⁵²

⁴⁹ Hamilton, 1901, p. 294.

⁵⁰ '...mourning caps and head chaplets both worn by women only'. Mead, 1969, p. 67. Mead appears to have interpreted this understanding from Hamilton (see previous f/n) and Buck.

⁵¹ E.g. Portrait of Tiria, B.008148, by Pulman and Son, circa 1870–1900; Portrait of Hataretā, B.002038, photographer unknown, circa 1880; both in photographic collection of Museum of New Zealand Te Papa Tongarewa.

⁵² R. Taylor, ms 52. Refer *Maori Death Customs*, R.S. Oppenheim, 1973, A.H. and A.W. Reed, Wellington, p. 55.

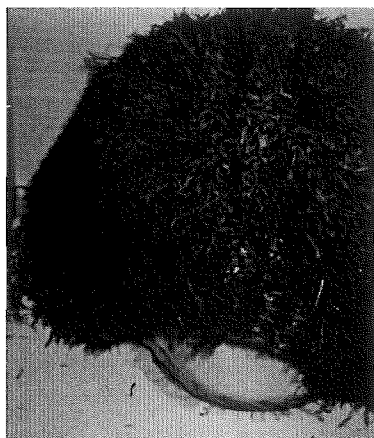


Figure 4.1 Karapo, Auckland Museum collection, 1498 Grey Collection.



Figure 4.2 Karapo, Auckland Museum collection, 309, (accessioned prior to 1874). The twined muka kaupapa can be seen beneath the black seaweed attachments.

FEATHERED ORNAMENT

Like the feathered potae taua, no existing examples of raukura or other constructed feather ornaments are currently known, although one feathered head-dress was traded during Cook's second voyage. Its provenance is not entirely clear,⁵³ but as part of the Forster collection the item was ultimately deposited in the Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford (Catalogue entry No. 127). At their 1970 exhibition of the Forster collection 'From the Islands of the South Seas 1773-4', the head-dress was listed as missing. Recently, however, a photograph believed to be of the missing article has been located (Figure 4.2), and it is included here because it appears to bear some relationship to the feathered head bands described by Best (Refer p. 108). The image shows a construction of layers of feathers that appear to be joined by a fibrous plied cordage that is firmly twined along the folded calamus of the quill. This concurs with the description of the 1836 catalogue entry:

A circular band of small parrot's feathers variously coloured, red, yellow and green being most conspicuous; fastened to a small cord made of twisted bark or grass. It has been a great deal damaged by moth, width about 13 inches. Depth of the fringe 3 5/10 inches. Probably an ornament for the head.

A later undated description records:

⁵³ The item is possibly that listed on page 8 of the manuscript 'Catalogue of Curiosities Sent to Oxford', thought to be in George Forster's hand, as no. 127 under the heading 'New Zealand' and described as follows: 'A headdress of feathers.' [NMM; JC 11 7 2001]. However, other catalogue entries suggest it may be from Tahiti, New Guinea, Easter Island or South America. Refer: <http://www.prm.ox.ac.uk/forster/>

Feathers on the specimen identified as this piece are now dark brown. They are attached quite densely to a circular foundation of stringwork, protruding all the way around.

This missing headdress is still being pursued. As the only artefact of its kind and age, it could provide important information about this little known element of traditional Maori dress.



Figure 4.3 Missing feathered head ornament. Pitt Rivers Museum

MAORI TRADING EVIDENCE

Although few head-dresses are known to have changed hands, prestigious feathers were widely traded in Maori society. Evidence of this was shown in the finding of a waka huia in a cleft in schist rocks near the confluence of the Talla Burn and Clutha River in Southland (Figure 4.5).⁵⁴ The rectangular box had no lid, and a rough knob at each end. Although simply made, with merely a few notches carved along the lip, the protective wrappings of the box indicated that its contents were of considerable importance (Figure 4.4). The box had an inner covering of fine tapa or barkcloth, with an outer wrapping of a very finely woven cloak with dogskin tags. Inside the box were seventy huia tail-feathers, of which six pairs had the shaft of one feather inserted into another. In addition, there were twenty bunches of red kaka feathers.

According to Simmons, a tuft of kaka feathers would be attached at the base of huia feathers and worn at the side of the head.⁵⁵ Alternatively, some of the feathers may have been intended for a marereko headdress, mentioned earlier.

⁵⁴ The date of the find does not appear to be recorded.

⁵⁵ A wooden awl or perhaps top, its head wrapped in layers of red and white tapa and some finely made cords were also in the box, with a flax kete and a piece of baleen. It was suggested that this cache was unlikely to be hidden later than about 1820. Comparisons and testing of the Talla Burn tapa wrapping,



Figure 4.4 Some of the huia and kaka feathers found in the Tulla Burn waka huia.

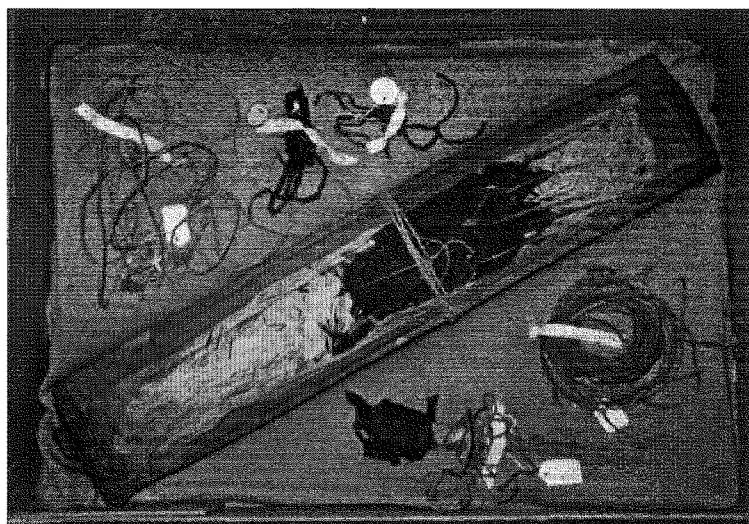


Figure 4.5 Tulla Burn feather box and other contents. Otago Museum D.33. 1892.

What made the Tulla Burn discovery so extraordinary is the fact that huia birds were not known to live in the South Island; the feathers must have been traded from the North Island. In terms of significance to southern Maori, this hidden collection of feathers must have represented an incredibly valuable treasure trove.

with samples of Hoheria cloth from Otago, Hoheria fibre samples from Dunedin region and Marquesas Island Paper Mulberry barkcloth indicated that the sample bore closer comparison to the paper mulberry barkcloth than the other examples. Jennifer A. Rowley, 'Note on the Tapa Covering Found with a Box of Huia Feathers on the Talla Burn, Central Otago.' *JPS*. 75:108.

SECTION C: Seventeenth century evidence

DOCUMENTARY AND GRAPHIC EVIDENCE

Dutch observations of Maori in 1642 were consistent in their description of the hair ornament worn by the Maori they saw in Golden Bay. They concur in the wearing of a single stiff white feather. The Heeres translation of the text of Tasman's Journal states:

... these people ... had Black hair right on top of the crown of the head fastened together in style and form like the Japanese at the back of the head but a bit longer and thicker of hair; upon which stood a large thick white feather....⁵⁶

This interpretation differs negligibly from the Roest translation of the Huydecoper:

... they had black hair/ tied together right on the Crown of the head/ in the manner and fashion of the Japanese at the back of the head/ but somewhat longer and thicker of hair/ which was surmounted by a large white thick feather/ ...⁵⁷

The translation of the Haalbos-Montanus description reads:

the head-hair, tied up round, was bound together in a tress on top of the crown: the crown was adorned with a stiff white feather: round the neck hung a square plate; across the chest was a long white stripe;⁵⁸

Nonetheless, while translations of Tasman's journal both recorded the wearing of feathers as hair adornment, the graphic representations of the SAC and Blok images differ in their portrayals. The figures of the SAC copy of Gilsemans image show no hair adornment; this omission has been one of the challenges to its validity.

In contrast, the figures of the Blok image (Figure 4.6) show the addition of a broad white feather projecting from the top-tufts of ten members of the crew of twelve. However, there has been some controversy over when the feathers were drawn. Art historians have failed to agree on whether these feathers were included in the original drawing or added later when it was being prepared for publication. Collins has suggested that the feathers may have added subsequently to bring the illustration in line with the text.⁵⁹ However, no other changes appear to have been made with similar intent; this, combined with the 1770 evidence of an attributed Parkinson sketch, (Figure 3.16) suggest the feathers were original. As a comparatively small detail, they may have been omitted from the SAC copy by pressure of work or time constraints. It must be remembered that the seventeenth century evidence is localised from one source at one specific time. That all the Maori

⁵⁶ Sharp, pp 121-122. Heeres translation. The Roest translation of the Huydecoper has only minor differences.

⁵⁷ Huydecoper manuscript, P.K.Roest translation, copy courtesy G. Anderson. p. 85.

⁵⁸ Sharp, p.42.

⁵⁹ Roger Collins, personal communication, 19 February 1999.

portrayals had similar hairstyle and identical feathered ornament may reflect a local style or fashion.

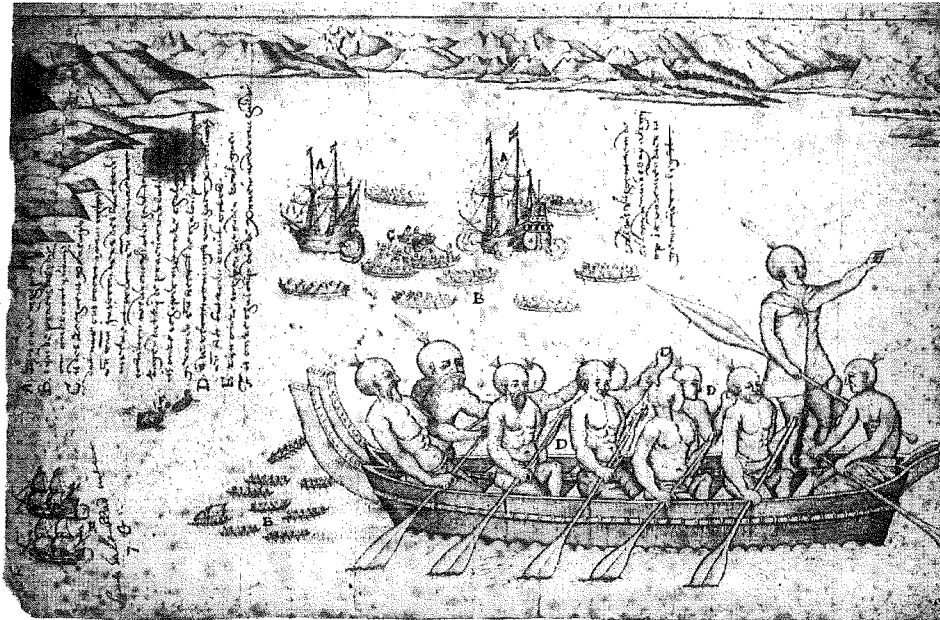


Figure 4.6 Blok image, after Gilsemans, showing feathers worn by Maori.

SECTION D: Eighteenth century evidence

DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Although the use of a single feather ornament, as seen by Tasman in 1642 was still in current practice, considerable variations were observed from 1769. Not only was there an increase in the number of feathers used, the hair ornaments recorded by members of Cook's expeditions also included hair combs of wood or bone. Further to these, a regional *potae taua* and the use of various species of leaves were documented. However, the most frequent form of adornment continued to employ feathers.

While the white feather was still prevalent when Cook's first expedition arrived, the placement was often different. Early after their first encounter Monkhouse wrote, 'Most of them had their hair tied up with a white feather stuck in the tie.'¹⁶⁰ This method of attachment is the most obvious for any lightweight hair ornament, and

contrasts with the position shown in the Blok image. Later, Monkhouse amplified his description:

The white feathers are not regularly fixt in a vertical position but very often in an horizontal one. A White feather tipt with black, with the hair neatly combed as we've seem in some, looks very well.⁶¹

The number of feathers inserted also showed signs of change. Cook observed: 'their hair ... tied upon the Crown of their heads and there stuck with white feathers.'⁶²

Later, he expanded upon this, noting that, 'The men when they are dress'd generally wear two or three long white feathers stuck upright in their hair.'⁶³ Cook's evidence is supported by similar observations from other members of his expedition. Parkinson wrote, 'The principals amongst them had their hair tied up on the crown of their heads; and some feathers....'⁶⁴ Banks recorded more detail:

The men ... tie their hair in a small knot on the top of their heads, sticking into it a kind of comb, and at the top two or three white feathers.⁶⁵

Monkhouse made a full description of feathers in use:

As to their ornaments I shall begin with the feather in the hair. In those who had straight hair and sufficiently long, the tie was upon the top of the head and the feather fixt perpendicularly; but some of our visitors had short curled hair who, however, were resolved not to go without this ornament, having a small lock in the front tied up and a feather stuck in it..⁶⁶

The East Coast double-knotted hairstyle was sometimes worn with feathers.

Monkhouse noted the appearance of two men at Cape Kidnappers with their hair neatly clubbed upon the top of the head in two parts and ornamented with three feathers.⁶⁷

However, not all men wore feathers in their hair. When recording details of the man shot at Poverty Bay, Banks wrote: 'his hair was also tied in a knot on the top of his head, but there was no feather stuck in it...'⁶⁸ The full gamut of Maori style ranged from no head adornment to a variety of different ornaments.

⁶⁰ Monkhouse, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, pp. 565-6.

⁶¹ Monkhouse, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 586.

⁶² Cook, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 212-13.

⁶³ Cook, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 280.

⁶⁴ Parkinson, p. 93.

⁶⁵ Hooker, (ed.) p. 234.

⁶⁶ Monkhouse, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 573.

⁶⁷ Monkhouse, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 580.

⁶⁸ Hooker (ed.) p. 184.

VARIETIES OF HAIR ADORNMENT

While the major items of male hair adornment mentioned in the journals of members of Cook’s first expedition are feathers and hair combs, an analysis of Parkinson’s images gives some intimation of the range of variations that were worn. Tables 4.1 to 4.2 (refer Appendix B) provide an overview of the variety of headdress he recorded, and include both male and female.



Figure 4.7 Parkinson, 1769. *Portrait of a New Zeland Man*, MS 23920, f.55



Figure 4.8 Hodges, 1773. [*Portrait of a Maori Chieftain*], Australian National Library, Canberra.

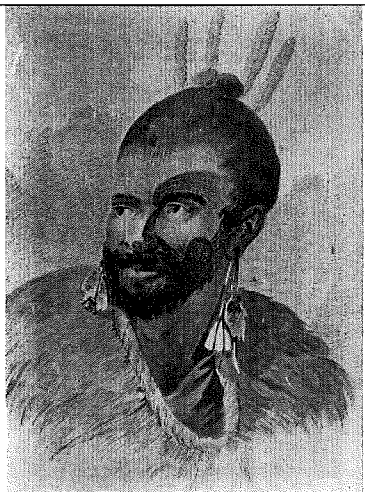


Figure 4.9 Webber, 1777. *Portrait of the Chief Kahura [Kahoura]*. Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales.

The range of male adornment consisted of between one and three feathers; a heru, either alone or with feathers; a feathered cap; or a tall, unidentified head-dress. That of the females is limited to the feathered cap or a circlet of leaves. While Parkinson’s *Portrait of a New Zeland Man* (Figure 4.7) wore three feathers in his hair, Hodges and Webber both showed chiefs wearing as many as four and five feathers (Figures 4.8 and 4.9).

(A) FEATHERED CAPS

While white feathers were the most frequently seen form of adornment, dark feathered caps were a localised form of headwear the Europeans observed at Queen Charlotte Sound (Figures 4.10 to 4.13). Buck suggested that this headdress was a *potae taua*, a form of mourning cap.⁶⁹ Cook had noted: '... at Queen Charlottes sound many both men and women wore round Caps made of black feathers.'⁷⁰ Like Cook, Banks recorded that the item was worn by both sexes; at the same time he made it clear that the head-dress was something new to the British:

The women in these canoes and some of the men had a piece of Dress which we had not before seen – a bunch of black feathers made round and tied upon the top of their heads which it entirely covered, making them look twice as large as they really were.⁷¹

The appearance of the feathered hats was commented upon favourably by members of Cook's expedition. Cook wrote: '...some of these people wore on their head round Caps made of birds feathers which were far from being unbecoming.'⁷²

Parkinson had also made note of the feathered head-dress: 'The natives, in this part of New Zealand,...wear large bunches of feathers on their heads....'⁷³ He produced a number of images which reveal the appearance of the *potae taua*; as there are no extant examples, without Parkinson's images its form would be less understood (Figure 4.10 to Figure 4.13). Evidence suggests that the headdress was in common use when the *Endeavour* was in Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770. In his work *New Zealanders Fishing*, Parkinson showed four out of the eight figures in the foreground *waka* wearing them (Figure 4.13).

The headdress maintained its place in local dress at Queen Charlotte Sound for a number of years. Forster recorded the same headgear on the second voyage:

They also wore the head-dress, or cap of brown feathers, mentioned in the account of captain Cook's former voyage.⁷⁴

Four years later, Anderson's journal suggests that the style was still current in 1777:

I have sometimes seen caps or bonnets made of birds feathers which is to be reckon'd an ornament, for it is not the custom to wear any covering on the head.⁷⁵

⁶⁹ Buck, 1949, p. 284.

⁷⁰ Cook, in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 280.

⁷¹ Hooker, (ed.), p. 210. *Beaglehole's* version is a little different: 'The women and some of the men wore an article of dress which we had not before seen, a round bunch of black feathers tied on the tops of their heads, which it entirely covered, making them look twice as large as they really were.' Banks, *Journal* 1, p. 454. 16 January 1770.

⁷² Cook in *Beaglehole*, Vol. 1, p. 247.

⁷³ Parkinson, p. 116.

⁷⁴ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 213-4.

⁷⁵ Anderson, in *Beaglehole*, p. 810.



Figure 4.10 Parkinson, MS 23920, f.60 (a).



Figure 4.11 Parkinson, MS 23960, f.62 (a)



Figure 4.12 Parkinson, MS 23920, f.65 (b).



Figure 4.13 Parkinson, detail from *New Zealanders Fishing*.

However, the use of the feathered cap was not observed by all who entered Queen Charlotte Sound. On board the *Adventure* during the second expedition, Burney recorded:

they wear nothing on their head or feet – their hair is commonly tied up on the crown of their head in which they Stick feathers & Combs made of fish bones.⁷⁶

Burney's observation suggests that the headdress may have been restricted to a particular tribal group, who were absent during the period that he was in the Sound. This head-dress was not recorded elsewhere nor by expeditions after Cook.

(B) TALL TUFTED ORNAMENT

The analysis of Parkinson's images reveals a previously unidentified hair ornament (Figure 4.14). Parkinson portrayed at least five male figures with an unusual, tall, tufted ornament inserted into or behind their 'topknots'.

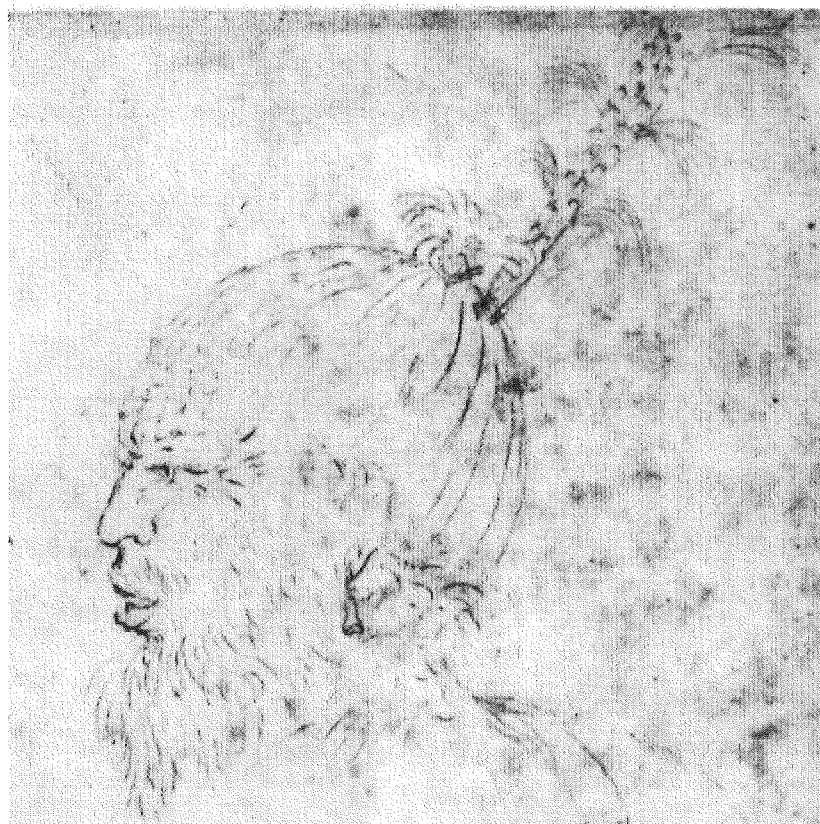


Figure 4.14 Parkinson, detail, MS 23920,f.61(d)

⁷⁶ James Burney, 1975. *With Captain James Cook in the Antarctic and Pacific: the private journal of James Burney, second lieutenant of the Adventure on Cook's second voyage, 1772-1773*. Ed. Beverley Hooper, Canberra, National Library of Australia. p. 52.

Two of the portrayals are chiefly figures in the centre of composite images; the remaining three are individual, faintly defined pencil sketches on badly foxed paper. In two instances the ornament is worn with a 'topknot' in addition to a heru; two others have hairstyles that may be the East Coast type of double knot, and the third style is a short, splayed bunch.



Figure 4.15 Parkinson, detail from *New Zealand War Canoe*, MS 23920, f.46.

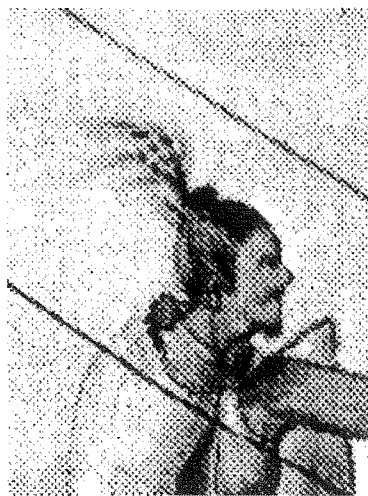


Figure 4.16 Parkinson, detail from *New Zealand War Canoe*, MS 23920, f.49.

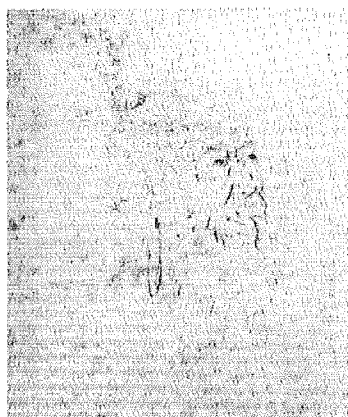


Figure 4.17 Parkinson, detail, MS 23920, f.60(e).

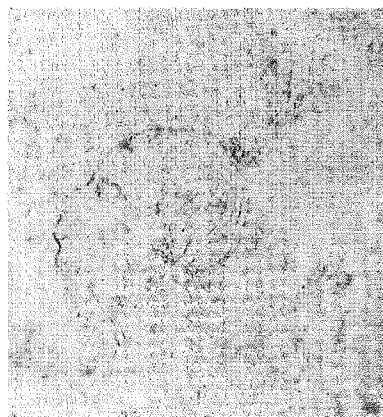


Figure 4.18 Parkinson, detail MS 23920, f.61(b).

To date, no-one appears to have commented on this head-dress. None of Cook's journals mention it; no other graphic artist recorded it. Neither Buck nor Mead referred to it. It seems there would be no knowledge of it without Parkinson's graphic evidence. The only clue comes from the list of words that Parkinson included in his journal:

Heebiekee [he piki] — a bunch of Scarlet feathers which they stick in their hair⁷⁷

Although the depictions vary in height, and to some degree in profile, they seem to be based one style of ornament. A close examination of the images suggests that the ornament was about 20 cm tall. It appears to have had a textured central core, with clusters of feather-like tufts at intervals along its length. There is no indication of what it was or how it was made, but it may have been woven or plaited, with feathers incorporated. To date this ornament has defied identification.

The figure in detail Figure 4.15 is wearing a tall titireia (whalebone comb) but the height of his feathery ornament is more than double the height of his comb, possibly extending to a height of 25 cm. This suggests that the ornament must have been very lightweight so that it stayed upright when inserted, and did not slump or fall out of his hair. Together with the versions shown in images Figure 4.16 to Figure 4.18, it appears that the ornament splayed outwards towards the top, perhaps dividing into two or more parts. The feather like extrusions suggest that it may have shimmered with movement.

There are four other pencil images showing similarly tall articles of adornment which may be further examples of the unidentified head-dress, but they are too indistinct to determine with currently available technology (Figure 4.19). Two of these are shown on figures wearing the wrapped garment observed at Queen Charlotte Sound, which suggests that the ornament may have been seen there.

⁷⁷ Parkinson, p. 127.

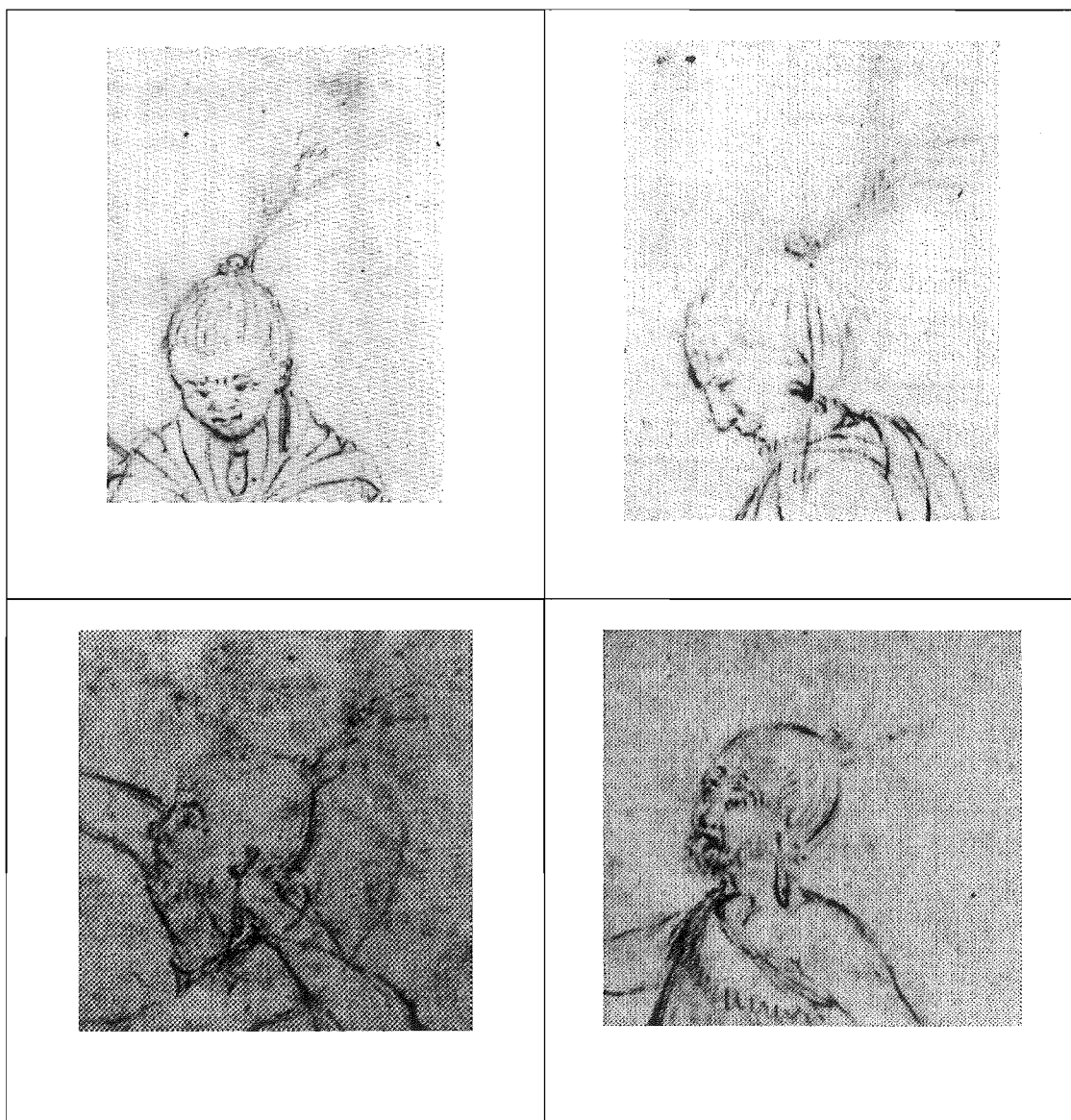


Figure 4.19 Parkinson pencil images, details, (upper left) MS 23920, f.64(c), (upper right) MS 23920, f.64(a), (lower left) MS 23920, f.63(b), (lower right) MS 23920, f.63(d).

This unknown ornament recalls the descriptions in traditional evidence, gathered by Tarakawa and Shand. The kura had been described as a red head-dress, made of feathers, and like a large tawhara.⁷⁸

⁷⁸ Tarakawa Takaanui, 1893, 'in *JPS* Vol. 2. Translated by S. Percy Smith. pp. 231-252. (p. 234 footnote 3).



Figure 4.20 Tawhara, flower of the kiekie.

The tawhara is the flower of the kiekie (Figure 4.20) and has a long sculptured form which can be compared with the silhouette and texture of the tall shaped ornament shown in Figure 4.14. These similarities in shape and texture, with the possible addition of feathery tufts, raise the question of whether this ornament had any connection with the head-dress described by Tarakawa. They suggest that this ornament could be a form of the kura that Tarakawa recounted as 'made of feathers like a large tawhara'. The protrusions may have been tufts of red feathers that quivered over the head of the wearer. It is tempting to hypothesise that the missing ornament from the Forster collection may have been able to provide the answers.

(C) ENIGMATIC ORNAMENT

Parkinson left one further image that appears to include an item of headdress which has not been previously identified. Amongst a series of single figure studies is one of a man holding a paddle aloft (Figure 4.21). The man wears a cloak over his shoulders and tied at his neck. Around his waist he wears a soft, pliant, wrapped form of kilt, such as Parkinson depicts in many of his composite images. The cloak has a woven border at the hem, and the figure also wears sandals. Although bare feet were the norm, sandals were woven by the raranga process using strips of harakeke and mainly used when travelling over rough terrain. The paddle he holds upright may in fact be a whalebone hoeroa, which would have been ceremonial

rather than functional. His features are clearly delineated, but his upturned face shows no indication of moko or of beard.

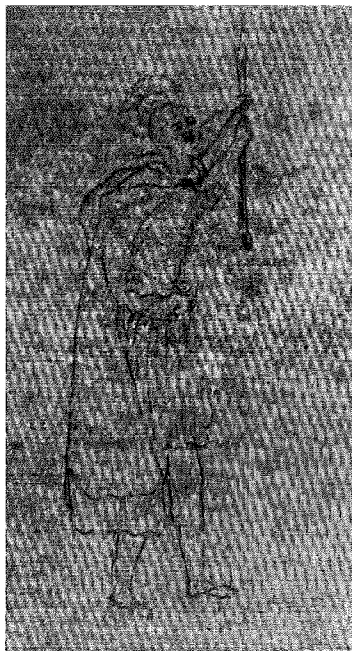


Figure 4.21 Parkinson, MS 23920, f. 63(a).

However, it is the man's hair and head-dress that is enigmatic (Figure 4.22). Initially, his hair appeared to be shaped into a kind of crest, and was reminiscent of that shown in Webber's *Portrait of a man of Atooi* (Figure 4.23). Alternatively, rather than depicting hair, the image might have been that of a man wearing a crested helmet similar to those of Hawaii (Figure 4.24). Yet, there is no other evidence in support of such a theory; neither oral tradition, nor documentary evidence suggest that such a helmet was ever seen in New Zealand. Given that some infrequent items such as a red feathered cloak were noted, it seems unlikely that an article as unusual as a helmet would not have been recorded, but only the dark feathered mourning cap was noted. Closer examination shows that the hairline is indeterminate, and suggests hair that is smoothed back into a small knot, as a basic style similar to other images in this collection. By a process of elimination, it follows that the ornament must be made of feathers. The circular form and delineation is suggestive of the feather caps of Parkinson's field studies discussed earlier. However, unlike this depiction, the feathered caps can all be seen to cover the top of the head, hiding the hair. In contrast, this ornament appears to radiate out from behind the 'topknot', like a halo.



Figure 4.22 Detail from Parkinson, MS 23920, f. 63(a).



Figure 4.23 Webber, *Portrait of a Man of Atool*.

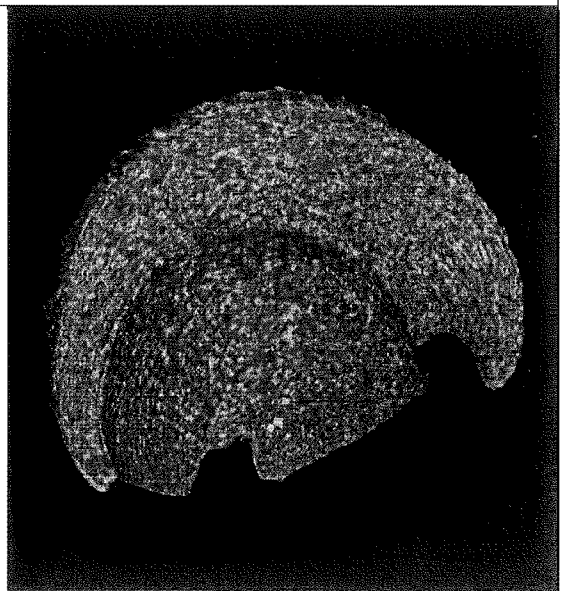


Figure 4.24 Hawaiian feathered helmet. Vienna 189.

In attempting to identify this ornament, it should be remembered that Parkinson had noted: 'The natives, in this part of New Zealand,...wear large bunches of feathers on

their heads....⁷⁹ While this statement has always been assumed to refer to the potae taua, perhaps Parkinson really did mean 'bunches of feathers' and this image shows a radiating halo of plumes; the definition of the image is not clear enough to draw any firm conclusions.

(D) WHITE FEATHERED FILLET

At Dusky Sound, on the second expedition, the resident family group dressed their hair with a variety of ornamental material. When the British went in search of the family one day, they discovered them preparing themselves to meet their visitors. Forster's description has left a picture of the occasion; it is inserted in its entirety to keep the incident in a true perspective:

They were preparing to receive us in all their finery, some being already completely adorned, and others still busy in dressing. Their hair was combed, tied on the crown of the head, and anointed with some oil or grease: white feathers were stuck in at the top; some had fillets of white feathers all around the head, and others wore pieces of an albatross skin, with its fine white down in their ears.⁸⁰

Sparman also recorded hair dressing and hairstyle at Dusky Bay:

Before their visit they had adorned themselves with stinking grease, as is their fashion, feathers on head and ears, dressed in their best short cloaks embroidered with feathers. The man's hair was bound in tufts over the crown of his head, and white feathers inserted.⁸¹

These descriptions are valuable in giving a portrayal of Maori life at the time. They demonstrate the concepts of existing social proprieties in respect of creating an appropriate appearance to greet visitors.

However, Forster's description of people wearing 'fillets of white feathers all around the head' is unique. There is no other information about a head-dress of this type. Like the unidentified tall ornament, no-one appears to have commented on this item. It was not mentioned any other journal of the period; there is no graphic evidence, and Buck and Mead make no reference to it. In addition, the term 'fillet' is confusing in present day understanding. In the eighteenth century it referred to a head-band, a ribbon, string, or narrow band of any material used for binding the hair, or worn round the head to keep the head-dress in position, or simply for ornament. However, at Queen Charlotte Sound, Forster noted the local headdress which he described as a cap of brown feathers.⁸² It seems clear that this was quite different to the item which he saw at Dusky Bay.

⁷⁹ Parkinson, p. 116.

⁸⁰ Forster, Vol. 1, p.141.

⁸¹ Anders Sparman, 1953, *A Voyage Round the World : with Captain James Cook in H.M.S. Resolution*. Translated by Huldine Beamish and Averil MacKenzie-Grieve, with introduction and notes by Owen Rutter. Robert Hale Ltd, London, p. 33.

⁸² Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 213-4.

Some items of material culture from the lower South Island were clearly different to those seen in other parts of the country. For example, the family at Dusky Bay wore short feather cloaks, but Forster made the point that those seen at Queen Charlotte Sound were never feathered,⁸³ while graphic evidence suggests long cloaks were popular in other regions. The fillet of white feathers that Forster recorded at Dusky Bay was probably made of toroa sources, for Cook was given an albatross skin at the time. The fillet may have consisted of birdskin with feathers still attached, or have had a harakeke or similar base, with feathers or even strips of birdskin intertwined.

(E) LEAF ORNAMENT

On the third voyage, Anderson documented a further method of adorning the hair:

By way of ornament they stick feathers, combs of bone or wood adorned with pearl shell, or the thin inner skin of some leaf in their heads.⁸⁴

Anderson did not identify the leaf, nor was he explicit as to how it was used. He did not specify whether the leaf pellicle was used by men or women, or by both; however, that the other ornaments he mentioned were usually worn by men suggests that this was another form of male adornment. No other member of Cook's exploration parties recorded this use. The tikumu leaf, (*Celmisia semichordata*) alluded to in the waiata of Ngati Whatua earlier, has a soft, white, kid leather-like epidermis which is peeled away from the upper side of the leaf. When the *Resolution* was in Cascade Cove on the second voyage, Forster collected a specimen which is now in the herbarium of the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew (Figure 4.25);⁸⁵ the species of leaf seen by Anderson only a few years later is almost certainly tikumu.

Another report of the wearing of leaves promotes a number of questions. In February 1770, Parkinson recorded seeing four double canoes on the east side of the South Island.⁸⁶ There was a total of fifty-seven people on board; he noted 'they had some leaves about their heads, but few cloaths on their bodies, and seemed to be poor wretches.'⁸⁷ As Parkinson had previously documented the use of leaves in women's hair; it seems unlikely that he would have commented on the leaves worn by this group if they were only worn by women. However, he made no further description nor left any graphic record of their appearance. His perception that these were 'poor wretches' suggests that these were unlikely to be prestigious tikumu leaves, and raises issues of what other species were used, by whom, and for what

⁸³ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 174.

⁸⁴ Anderson in Beaglehole, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 810.

⁸⁵ D. Given, 1980, *New Zealand Journal of Botany*, 1980, Vol. 18: pp. 127-131.

⁸⁶ 'on the east side of Toaipoonamoo'.

⁸⁷ Parkinson, p. 120.

purpose. One might speculate that these people were in mourning but for the lack of supporting evidence, such as fresh scarring of tangihaeae; as Parkinson had noted they had few clothes it seems likely he would have commented had their skin appeared blood streaked.

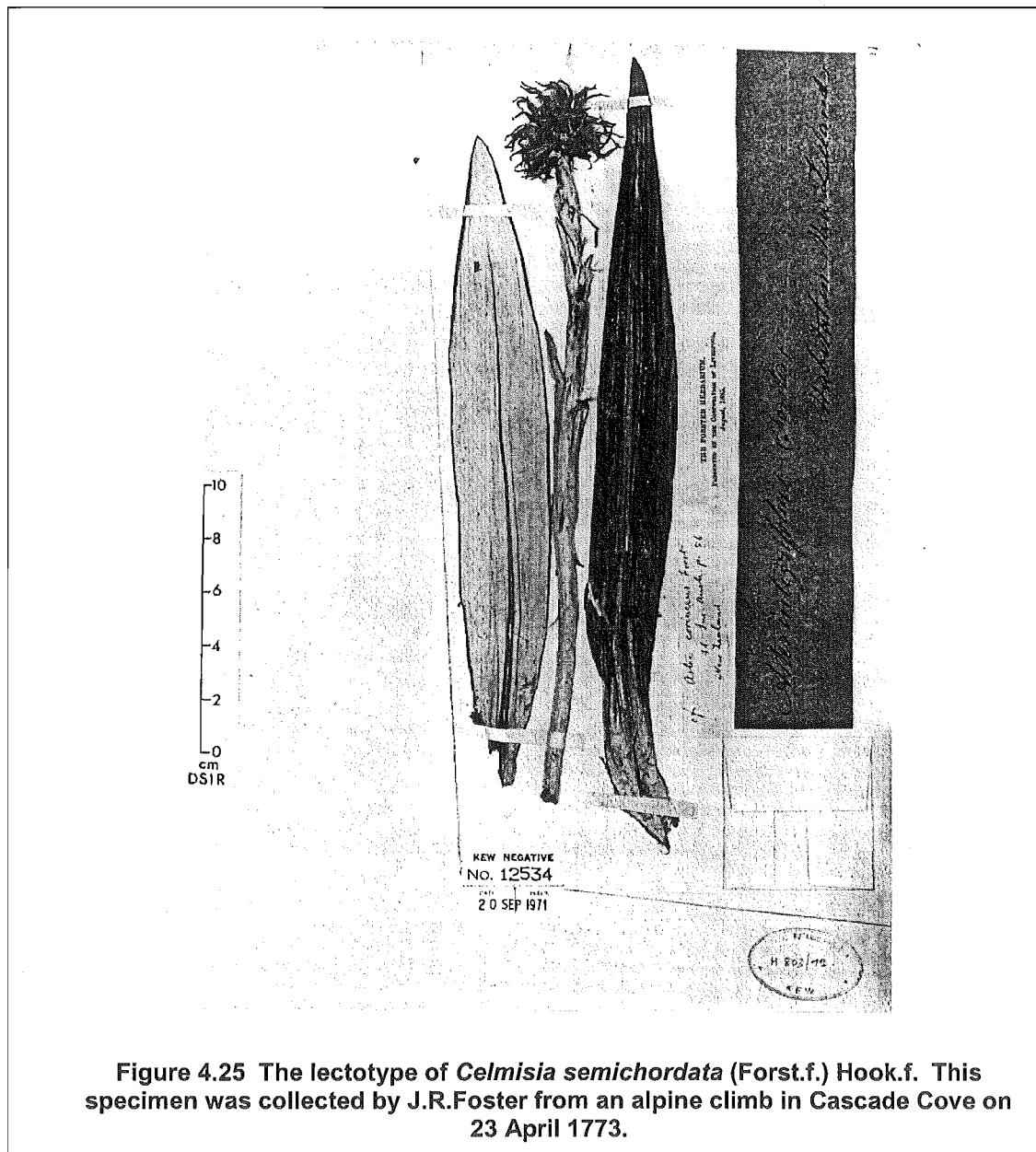


Figure 4.25 The lectotype of *Celmisia semichordata* (Forst.f.) Hook.f. This specimen was collected by J.R.Foster from an alpine climb in Cascade Cove on 23 April 1773.

ADORNMENT OF WOMEN'S HAIR

While there is some variance of hairstyle, the journals of Cook's voyage concur in their accounts that the women observed did not dress their hair with combs or feathers, but with leaves. According to Banks,

Their hair, which they wear short, is seldom tied, and when it is, it is behind their heads, and never ornamented with feathers.⁸⁸

Parkinson wrote:

The men have their hair tied up, but the womens hangs down; nor do they wear feathers in it but adorn it with leaves.⁸⁹

Monkhouse gave further details:

I have not observed one with her hair tied up or ornamented with feathers – but instead thereof many of them use the leaves of a plant not unlike the Colts foot, laid upon the fore part of their head and secured there by knotting locks of hair over them – I dont see any use the Comb.⁹⁰

A number of composite images by Parkinson give examples of women wearing leafy headbands. Most of these decorative coronets of leaves appear to sit neatly around the head reminiscent in style of the Tahitian floral hei. It is possible that in his use of different shades Parkinson was attempting to convey the use of different botanical species. Beaglehole allowed that this use of leaves may have been ornamental, but suggested that the heart-shaped leaves may have been kawakawa, used in mourning. This was despite the fact that the Colts foot (*Tussilago farfara*) leaves of Monkhouse's comparison are tooth-edged whereas kawakawa (*Macropiper excelsam*) is not,⁹¹ in addition to the facts that the leaves do not conceal the face and that there was no evidence of self laceration recorded. Had the women been involved in some ceremony, mourning might have been more positively indicated. Being involved in activity on board waka makes their coronets seem less likely to be an expression of grief and more a form of adornment. However, a variety of leaves were used, which may once more reflect regional differences.

An analysis of Parkinson's female figures is inconclusive, partly because of the difficulty of assigning gender with any certainty. Of probable female images (refer Appendix B, Tables 4.1 and 4.2), two appear to be wearing the potae taua, while ten out of fourteen women have some form of leaves around their heads.

⁸⁸ Hooker, p. 234.

⁸⁹ Parkinson, p. 98.

⁹⁰ Beaglehole, p. 586.

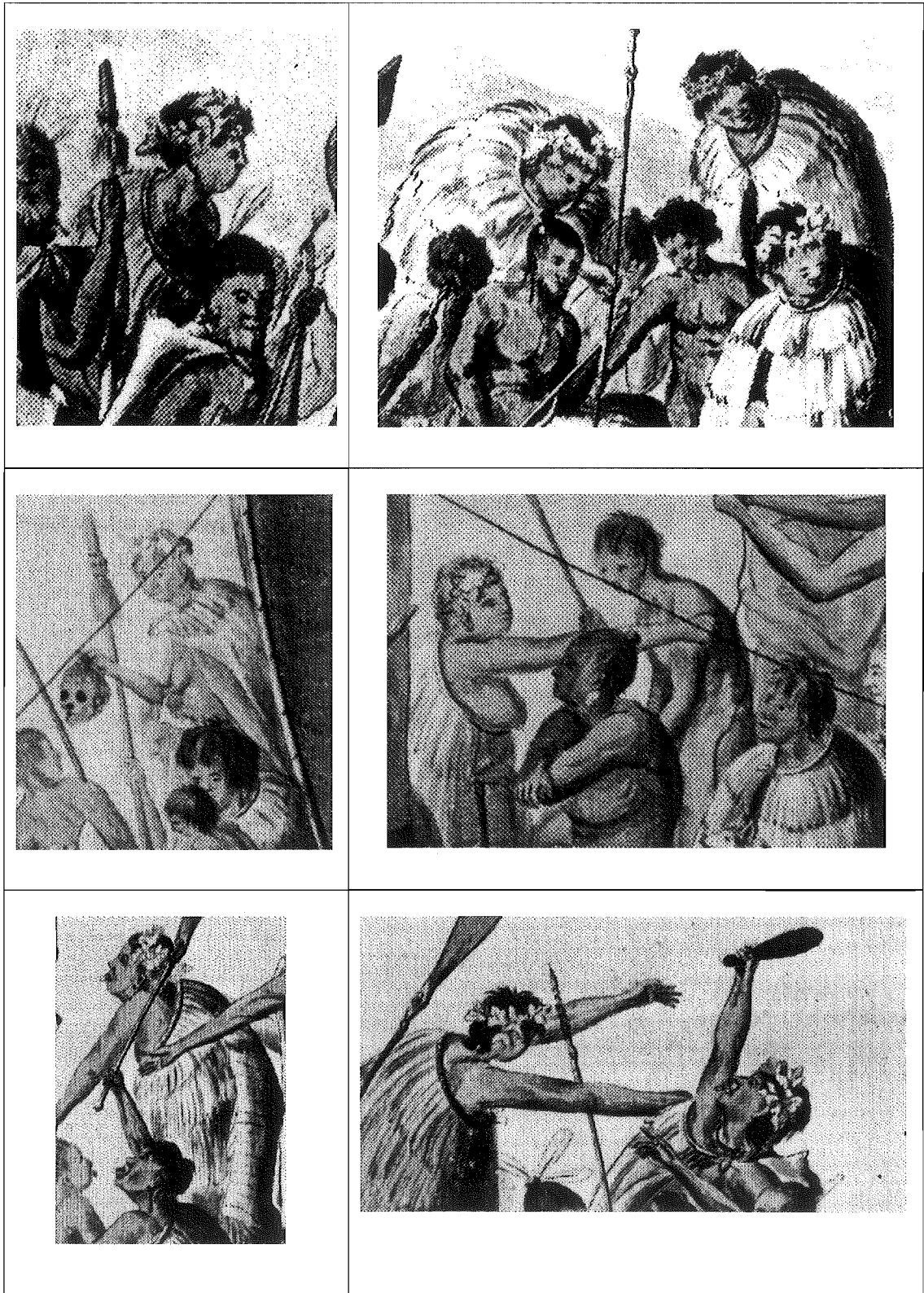
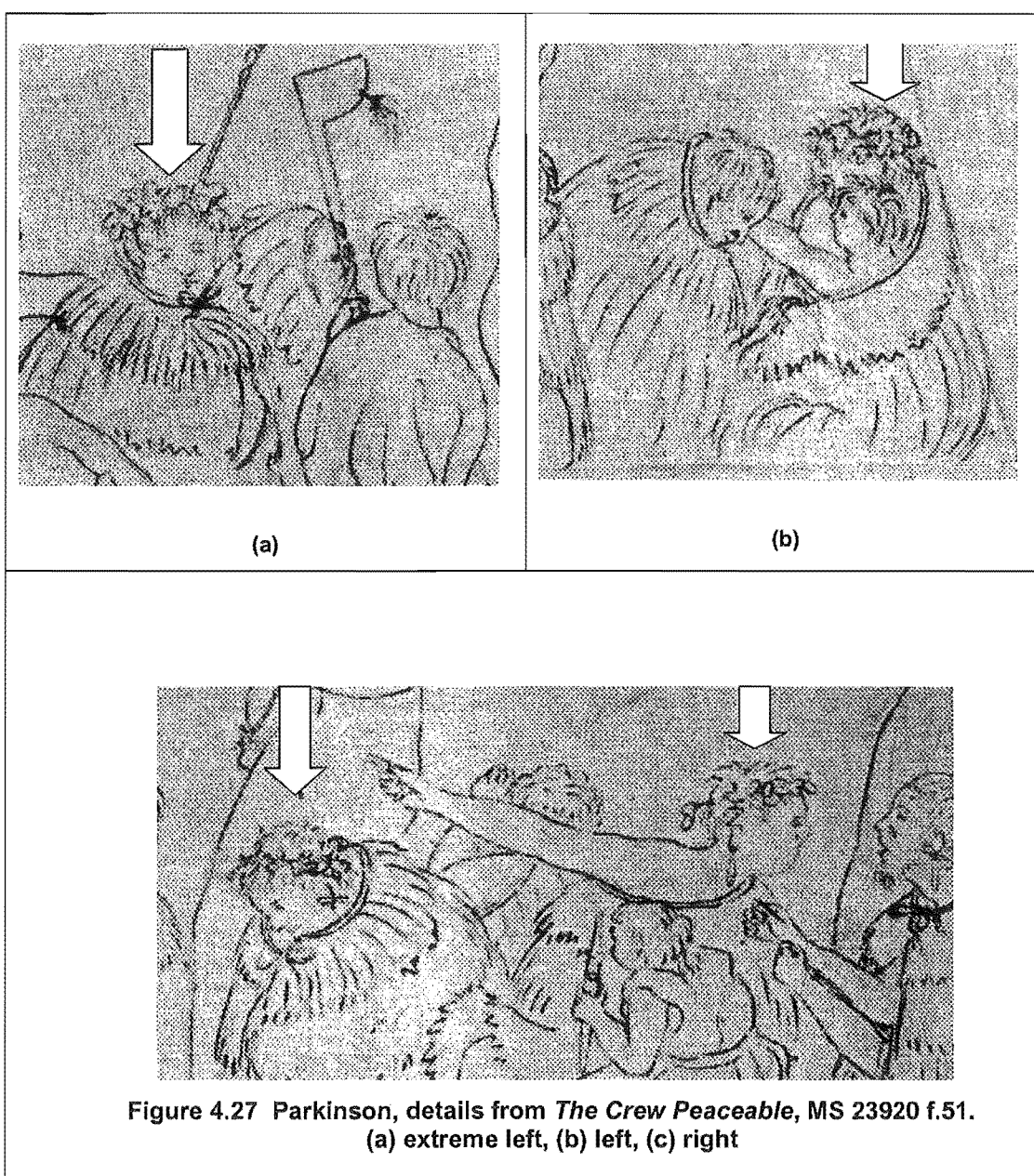


Figure 4.26 Women with leaves around their hair. Details from Parkinson images. Above, from MS 23920 f. 46; centre, from MS 23920 f. 50; below, from MS 23920 f. 49.

⁹¹ Beaglehole, p. 586, fn.



Parkinson made one sketch of a woman wearing a very different leaf head-dress (Figure 4.28). This was on the East Coast of the North Island, and shows a woman with short hair, neck tattoo, and a circlet of very small, pointed leaves around her head. This species has not yet been identified. As the botanical artist on the voyage, Parkinson would have experienced no difficulties in portraying the leaves of any specific plant. However, an examination of Banks's *Florilegium*⁹² shows only one small leafed specimen, a pohuehue, which has a rounded leaf (Figure 4.29). The

⁹² *Banks' Florilegium* : a publication in thirty-four parts of seven hundred and thirty-eight copperplate engravings of plants collected on Captain James Cook's first voyage round the world in H.M.S. Endeavour, 1768-1771 / 1980-1990.

variety that seems nearest to that shown in the image is a species of finely toothed hoheria. Nonetheless, the image corroborates that women used a variety of leaves to adorn their hair.



Figure 4.28 Parkinson, [Portrait study of a Maori woman] MS 23920, f.62(b).

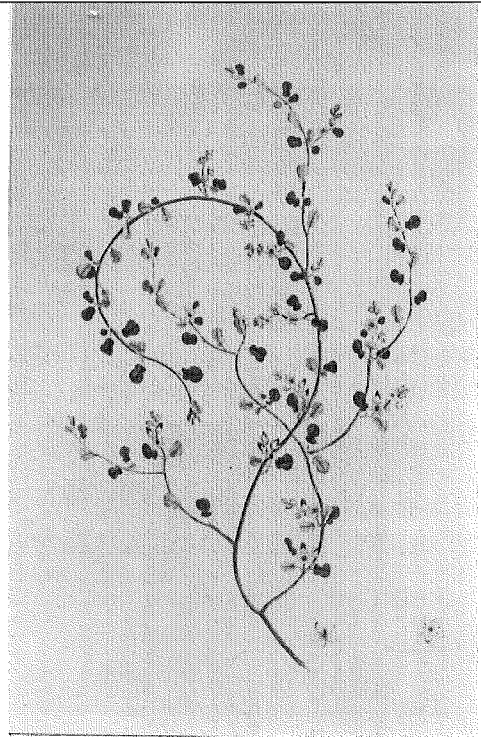


Figure 4.29 Engraving after Parkinson.

SECTION E: Nineteenth century evidence

BRITISH EVIDENCE

British travellers who visited New Zealand early in the nineteenth century also made observations of Maori head-dress and recorded elements of both constancy and change. In the Bay of Islands in 1805, John Savage noted the absence of head covering:

It does not appear that they have ever thought of any artificial covering for the head, but the mode of dressing the hair, in all probability, is found to supersede the necessity.⁹³

⁹³ John Savage, 1807. *Some Account of New Zealand; particularly the Bay of Islands, and Surrounding Country; With a Description of the Religion and Government, Language, Arts, Manufactures, Manners, and Customs of the Natives, &c,&c.* J. Murray, London, p. 48.

The comments of Savage had furnished a good picture of how the hair was dressed with oil and ochre. Further to this, his observations suggested that changes were occurring not only in the sources of hair ornamentation, but also in who was wearing such items.

The clothing of both men and women is exactly similar, so that the only distinction is in their faces, and the heads of the females, which have usually a greater number of ornaments than those of the men.⁹⁴

The hair, whenever the dress mats are worn, is well powdered and pomatumed, in which feathers, sharks' teeth, pieces of bone, European buttons, beads, bugles, &c. &c. are fastened, instead of broaches, {sic} or other ornaments....⁹⁵

This constitutes a significant change from the observations during the time of Cook when women were not seen with their hair ornamented. Savage had previously documented details of Maori finical practice when dealing with human hair,⁹⁶ but his description of children being entertained by playing with objects in their mother's hair shows a more relaxed attitude.

...child is placed astride on the shoulder of the nurse, who secures it in this posture by one of its arms; the other being left at liberty, it employs it in playing with ornaments on the head of its mother; and as these are sometimes numerous, consisting of feathers, shells, buttons, and sharks teeth, the child is provided with an ample source of amusement.⁹⁷

In contrast, Savage also noted the appearance of tohunga, recording their lack of ornamentation:

The priests... appear to attend but little to the ornaments of dress. I believe they use but little, if any, red earth, either on their persons or hair; the unctuous matter is used by them as a defence to the skin against the rays of the sun. Their heads are destitute of ornament, the hair being simply collected into a knot on the crown. The mat they wear is of a texture suited to the season.⁹⁸

The evidence of Savage reveals changes developing in Maori society that reflected increased European contact and the availability of items from a different material culture to include in hairdressing. Savage observed that there were differences between the inland chiefs and those along the coastline, noting that the latter showed less of their customary 'splendour' than the former.⁹⁹

Further changes in hair adornment were documented by John Nicholas in 1814. Although he also arrived in the Bay of Islands, his documentary evidence

⁹⁴ Savage, p. 49.

⁹⁵ Savage, p. 51.

⁹⁶ Savage. 'I noticed that they were peculiarly observant of cleanliness; for instance, after cutting or combing their hair, they never make use of their hands to feed themselves, but are fed for one or more days after that operation by some one of their relatives....The head seems to be generally considered an improper part to be touched by any kind of food, nor do they ever like articles of that description to be over their heads, though at some distance....' He continued to describe native aversion to sitting beneath nets of potatoes strung between the beams of the ship. p. 23.

⁹⁷ Savage, p. 45.

⁹⁸ Savage, p. 53.

⁹⁹ Savage, p. 27.

substantiated Savage's perception of differences in array between inland and coastal chiefs. Nicholas accompanied missionaries Marsden, Kendall and Hall with Duaterra and Shunghi to visit Maori at Wangeroa. Three local chiefs, including George and Tippouie, were gathered there with about one hundred and fifty warriors, giving Nicholas a good opportunity to observe the general appearance. He wrote:

... all had their hair neatly combed and collected in a knot upon the top of the head, where it was ornamented with the long white feathers of the gannet.¹⁰⁰

Nicholas also provided a description of how the feathers were prepared. According to his information, although the feathers were worn by men and women throughout the country, they were prepared exclusively in the Bay of Islands. The feathers were 'neatly dressed' and a small piece of wood was tied to the quill end of each in order to stick it into the hair.¹⁰¹

Further to this, Nicholas recounted the bartering process; one of his travelling party, Gunnah, had feathers to trade. His account is narrated in full, because although the language is profuse, the encounter shows that Maori women enjoyed the opportunity to acquire these items, and conducted their own trade.

Gunnah's merchandize consisted of a number of the white feathers of the gannet, which ... form a staple article of trade.

Our ... friend was now the magnet of attraction to all the ladies of the village, in consequence of his valuable and ornamental wares; and seating himself in the midst of the gay circle, he prepared to untie the box that enclosed the feathers, to gratify their impatient eyes. The sight at once filled the whole group with rapture; and taking some of the feathers out of the box, in which he had laid them with as much dexterity as if they had been packed up by the most experienced man-milliner in London: he stuck several of them in the heads of the surrounding ladies, who, when thus decorated, congratulated each other with extatic transports.... He then counted out twelve of the feathers, and laid them down with much gallantry at the feet of the young damsel who had the mat, giving her at the same time a large bunch of the down of the gannet, which is used as an ornament for the ear: upon receiving these she immediately gave him the mat in exchange, and Gunnah carefully tying up his box again, walked off to supply more customers.¹⁰²

This episode is valuable for the insight it gives of such an event. It communicates the sense of excitement that the conveyor of feathers brought with him and demonstrates the care with which such feathers were treated. More importantly, it indicates their value; twelve prepared gannet feathers, and a bunch of gannet down were exchanged for a woven garment that may have taken as long as two years to make.¹⁰³ Whether the woman retained all the feathers for her own use is not recorded.

¹⁰⁰ Nicholas, 1817. Vol. 1, pp. 131-2.

¹⁰¹ Nicholas, Vol. 1, p. 398.

¹⁰² Nicholas, Vol. 1, pp. 398-9.

¹⁰³ The incident was preceded by the exchange of 'a very elegant mat' for a piece of 'India cloth' between a woman and Marsden. This had prompted the second woman to bring a 'mat' from her whare. Nicholas, Vol. 1, pp.397-9.

Nicholas provided further evidence of change in his description of one of Wiveeah's warriors, both in the proliferation of feathers he wore in, and his headband. This quotation is also retained in full because it places the changes in hair ornamentation in context with other changes of dress.

One of his warriors, a man of commanding stature and expressive countenance, was very singularly dressed. Round his waist he had a mat lined with bird's feathers of various colours, which were carefully connected together in a thick texture, and sewed to the garment with much exactness: over this was another mat, that hung with graceful freedom over his right shoulder, and on the outside of all was a piece of red India print, with another stripe [sic] of the same material bound round his forehead. His hair was gaily, but at the same time most fantastically decorated; in every part of it were stuck long feathers of a snowy whiteness, and these were disposed in such an outlandish style of savage fancy, as to produce an effect that was irresistibly ludicrous. His cheeks were painted red, and in his hand he carried a tremendous iron pike, with a long pattoo pattoo stuck in his belt or girdle.¹⁰⁴

This warrior had extended the boundaries of traditional practice, not only by vastly increasing the numbers of feathers he wore, but also by enhancing the customary materials of hair adornment with the addition of a headband of red cotton imported fabric. The accumulation of these assets would have conveyed a variety of messages to his peers, concerning his status, his wealth or power, his whanau circumstances, and his pakeha contacts.

RUSSIAN EVIDENCE

During the ten days that the Bellingshausen Lazarev Antarctic Expedition spent in Queen Charlotte Sound in 1820, the Russians recorded no major changes in Maori hairstyle and adornment. Bellingshausen wrote simply 'These natives adorn their heads by tying the hair ... into a bunch at the crown and sticking a few white feathers through it.'¹⁰⁵ The use of feathers and cloaks led Simonov to allude to similarities between Maori appearance and classical Roman warriors:

Some of them reminded me of ancient Romans I had seen in prints, especially when the New Zealand mantle hung from their shoulders and feathers fluttered on their heads.

Nonetheless, his description of how their hair was dressed only contributed information on the use of red ochre. He wrote:

From behind, they let their hair fall in long locks, but at the front they cut it and powdered it red or smeared it with red colouring.¹⁰⁶

It was the graphic artist Mikaylov who made the most important contribution to the Russian evidence of Maori hair adornment. Mikaylov made a number of sketches of Maori both on board the *Mirnyy* and ashore.¹⁰⁷ Only a limited proportion of these have been published outside Russia, and a few others were included in a 1949

¹⁰⁴ Nicholas, Vol. 2, pp. 105-106.

¹⁰⁵ Bellingshausen in Barret, pp. 42-3.

¹⁰⁶ I.M. Simonov in Barrett, p. 48.

¹⁰⁷ Barratt, p. 34.

Russian publication of Bellingshauzen's expedition. One of these shows a Maori chief and a woman (Figure 4.30).¹⁰⁸



The man has curling hair worn on top of his head, with three feathers, showing little change from the time of Cook's expeditions. This suggests that changes in male ornamentation took longer to reach the South Island, and may also indicate less affluence in this region. The woman can be recognised as the chief's wife (refer Chapter 3). She wears a headdress of long pointed, light coloured leaves, made in such a way that the points lie diagonally towards the back of her head.

Mikhaylov's representation shows the tikumu leaf¹⁰⁹ worn in a manner that had been identified by Anderson 43 years before. His image substantiates and clarifies the evidence of nineteenth century ethnologists, and hints at the historical use that was recorded in the ancient waiata of Ngati Whatua.

¹⁰⁸ Published in *Dvukratnyi izuskaniia v iuzhnom Ledovitom*, Faddei Faddeuich Bellinsgauzen, Gosudarstvennoe izdatelystvo Geograficheskoy Literatury, Moskva, 1949. P. opp. p.192.

¹⁰⁹ probably *Celmisia spectabilis* or *C. coriacea*.

CONCLUSION

This re-examination of evidence shows that the diversity of Maori ephemeral hair ornament has been greatly underestimated. Far from being limited to the white feathers of sea birds such as gannet and albatross, Maori hair ornament also included the multicoloured and diverse.

The synthesis of evidence provides a range of new information. Traditional evidence shows that the ephemeral ornament had a long history and suggests that the legendary raukura incorporated a range of feathered and botanical materials. The combination of traditional and graphic evidence offers some clues as to its possible appearance. Material evidence, coupled with the narrative of Nicholas, testifies to the significance of feathers as items of trade; while oral traditions, combined with material evidence and Parkinson's graphic evidence, indicate the range of potae taua.

The graphic evidence shows that during Cook's time, there was still a range of ornaments in use which have since disappeared. The feathered cap of the Queen Charlotte Sound area remained in evidence over the years of Cook's expeditions, but apparently only in one region; as far as is known, it appears not to have been restricted by any limitations of use. The white-feathered fillet was only recorded at Dusky Bay, but the status and gender of the wearer was not documented. The enigmatic ornament remains a mystery; yet, it may have been simply a large bunch of feathers, while the use of leaves by both men and women seems to have been widely practised and hair could be tied with a variety of botanical species. It should be remembered that European observations were largely coastal at this time, the range of ephemeral hair ornaments of inland territory remains unknown.

However, the tall feathered ornament, which may be that identified by Parkinson as 'he piki', is an important discovery. It cannot be tied to a specific locality, but it is clearly a prestigious indicator of rank. Although it is more frequently shown worn alone, protruding from the knot of hair, it is also shown worn with a titireia - the tall whalebone comb of high status. In the composite images, there seems to be never more than one wearer of this feathery ornament, although there may be more than one heru in evidence.

The adornment of women's hair is also shown to be more varied than formerly believed. While the traditions of women dressing their hair with feathers seem to

reflect the importance of the individual and the circumstance, evidence suggests a wider use of botanical sources. However, the variety of leaf as depicted in graphic evidence, particularly that of Mikhaylov, shows that this too, was a means of indicating status.

Aside from this, while the re-examination of evidence contributes more about the diversity of ephemeral hair ornaments, it has added less to our understanding of their complexities. Although the range of ornaments denoting rank is extended, there may be other implications that are no longer understood. There is conflicting evidence as to the use of leafy coronets as indicators of mourning and the choice of leaf species may have had regional significance. The tacit significance of ephemeral hair ornaments tends to remain obscure.

CHAPTER 5 THE USE OF BIRD AND ANIMAL SKINS

This chapter re-establishes the importance of bird and animal skins as elements of traditional Maori dress. While current understanding of Maori historical use of fauna skins is derived from a range of prestigious dogskin cloaks, this is a simplification that represents only part of the actuality. Although Maori had access to only a limited range of sources, an examination of the evidence testifies to a variety of different skin usage. This is significant because although the high status indicated by wearing dogskin cloaks is recognised, these garments represented only one form of skin use. An analysis of the evidence suggests that earlier garments of other skins also indicated high prestige. Moreover, the variety of different skin usage is significant in terms of indigenous technology, pointing to the practice of a range of technical skills that have since become lost; re-examination of material evidence shows that the technological consequence of earlier cloaks incorporating strips of skin has been largely ignored. Further evidence shows that despite the recovery of numbers of differently shaped bone needles, the concept of entire garments stitched of birdskin or dogskin, and the requisite level of Maori sewing and skin preparation technology has been neglected by previous studies. The cultural significance of these items of dress in pre-and early-contact society has essentially been forgotten, and the constant process of evolving style and consequential change within the framework of tradition has been ignored.

While early material evidence is sparse by reason of its friable nature, a variety of disparate sources still exist. Traditional evidence indicates the diversity of garments, which people wore them, and how they were used. However, despite general consensus about what the garments were and how they were made, subsequent evidence offers alternative interpretations. Archaeological evidence shows the development of manufacturing techniques, and testifies to changes that occurred in this aspect of traditional society. Later evidence from eighteenth century British and French journals includes some details of the wearers and varieties of garments observed, while the interaction recorded between visitors and Maori gives an insight into contemporary Maori perspectives as they related to these items of dress.

There is an unexpected dearth of graphic evidence from the Cook expeditions. An analysis of the available images of the period reveals that some are problematic, while the previous classifications of a number of other images can be

challenged. A synthesis of material and graphic evidence provides some explanation for apparent differences in style.

An examination of the collected cloaks with Cook provenance reveals that no cloaks of stitched pelts were obtained, and very few that were entirely overlaid with dogskin. The absence of these garments amongst European collections raises questions about their significance in Maori culture, and asks whether they were considered appropriate items of trade at that time. Although Cook's exploration of New Zealand occurred simultaneously with some of the French voyages, the respective data has been kept separate because of their differing emphases, the French recording a greater variance of skin usage. Early nineteenth century British evidence presents a dichotomy, showing the onset of changing values in response to European influence in some regions, while concurrently, ancestral values continued to hold steadfast in others. In the latter, the strength of tradition was reflected in the ongoing evolution of style within the framework of established cultural practice. The combination of these re-examined sources indicates the importance of the use of skins in the historical context of traditional Maori dress, and gives new understanding to some aspects of Maori culture.

SECTION A: Traditional evidence

The variety of bird and mammal skins that once formed part of traditional Maori dress has not been deliberately scrutinised in the past. Previous study of the use of these skins as elements of dress has tended to concentrate on dogskin cloaks to the detriment of all other manufactured items. While the wearers of such garments have long been recognised as being of chiefly status, a misconception has arisen that women did not wear prestigious apparel. The general interpretation of the available information has given only a superficial picture but a re-examination of traditional evidence shows that a much more substantial picture can be obtained. It reveals the use of bird and animal skins in Maori dress as a long-established practice that incorporated a range of different species. It indicates the status of people who wore these items, at the same time showing that ownership of furred or feathered garments was not an exclusively male prerogative. At the same time it enhances understanding of cultural practice as it related to the wearing and use of such articles of dress.

VARIETIES OF SKIN GARMENTS

Traditional stories identify a range of apparel made from skins, as well as some ornaments, giving an indication of the varieties that were worn. These included both kahu (shoulder garments) and maro (waist garments or loincloths), that were made using feathers and hair, in addition to skins of bird, dog and seal. This clothing used differing manufacturing techniques that will be examined later, but dress items also included headwear, as already discussed, and ear ornaments. However, obscure terminology hinders clarification of ancient Maori garments; 'kuaira' were believed to be garments of fur, hair or feathers¹ while 'huru' could be either feathered or furred cloaks or capes.²

The greatest diversity of valued garments is listed in stories of regional taniwha (mythical monsters) that prevailed upon local people. When such a taniwha was finally slaughtered, the contents of its abdomen revealed every precious item it had swallowed. These included weapons of pounamu, whalebone and hard woods, ornaments of pounamu and sharks' teeth, as well as finely woven garments, and cloaks or capes of birdskins or feathers such as kahu-kiwi, kakahu-kura, and kahu-toroa.³ They also included sealskin (kahu-kekeno) and different styles of dogskin cloaks, kahu-waero, puahi,⁴ topuni,⁵ mawhiti,⁶ or mahiti,⁷ ihupuni,⁸ ihupukupuku and tapahu. That such garments are recorded along with desirable weapons and ornaments indicates their value in Maori society when the stories were told.⁹

Stories of individual heroes frequently include references to their skin garments. The Arawa figure, Hatupatu, used two styles of dogskin cloak to help change his appearance in his subterfuge of multi-leadership (refer Chapter 3, Traditional evidence). In addition to changing his hairstyles, for his fifth speech, he wore a puahi; for his last he wore a topuni.¹⁰ As the object of Hatupatu's ruse was to

¹ Hamilton, 1901. p. 279. Williams, p. 154.

² Hamilton, 1901. p. 279. Williams, p. 72.

³ Grey, 1971. *Nga mahi a nga Tipuna*, Wellington, p. 129.

⁴ Grey, 1971, p. 129. The kahu-kereru is another variety, this listed by Mohi Turei, 'Tu-whakairi-ora', 1911, in *JPS*, Vol. 20, No. 77, pp. 17-34.

⁵ *JPS*. Vol 3, p. 17.

⁶ Grey, 1971, p. 131.

⁷ *Pipiwaharoa*, 126, 3.

⁸ *JPS*. Vol. 20, p 22.

⁹ Although the garments are not specified, weapons and clothing are similarly found inside the taniwha in the story of the slaying of Te Kaiwhakaruaki, the taniwha in the Parapara Stream at Collingwood, Tasman's Bay. Te Whetu, "The Slaying of Te Kaiwhakaruaki" in *JPS* Vol 3, 1894, pp.18-19.

¹⁰ Grey, 1971, p. 87. Grey translated these respectively as 'a dogskin cloak' and 'a large rough dogskin garment'. Grey, n.d. *Polynesian Mythology*...., p. 144.

create the appearance of a number of different chiefs addressing a company of warriors, it is logical that the cloaks the story-teller identified were recognised by the listeners as being of different styles.

Other traditional evidence tells of both furred and feathered maro. Maui was said to have worn the maro of his mother when he changed himself into a kereru. Her maro supplied the white breast feathers of the wood-pigeon, her belt providing the colours at the bird's throat. Because of the limited available sources of white material this legend suggests that women may have worn maro of white birdskin or doghair at some point in history. On the basis that Polynesian women did not wear the maro, Sir Peter Buck assumed that the earliest settlers in New Zealand would have followed suit.¹¹ However, traditional evidence supports the concept of women wearing feathered maro. Ngai Tahu tradition tells of kakapo skins used for the girdles or kilts of young women, when a party of chiefs travelling south in the early eighteenth century named and claimed tracts of land to provide kakapo for their daughters' clothing.¹² Aside from the subject of gender, both dogskin and feathered maro featured in another Ngai Tahu tradition, that of Tamanuiaraki and his wife Rukutia.¹³ The family of Tama performed haka for the entertainment of their guest, Tutekorepunga, wearing white dog tail hair maro,¹⁴ but when the visiting whanau performed, they wore red maro.¹⁵ That the tradition records Tama was ashamed by this detail suggests that red feathered maro showed more status, or were considered more impressive than dogskin or hair maro at the time of the story.

CREATING CHIEFLY APPEARANCE

Skin garments and articles of adornment were a major part of the apparel used to create a noble and impressive appearance, and reflect the mana of the wearer. How an individual appeared could affect how he or she was treated, and the semblance of chiefly figures signalled not only their own status but also that of their group. This concept of collective identity meant the formal demeanour of the leader was paramount. The importance of presenting the optimum appearance

¹¹ Buck, 1949, p. 160.

¹² Stack, J. 1984. *South Island Maoris, a sketch of their history and legendary lore*. Kiwi Publishers, Christchurch, N.Z., pp. 72 - 73

¹³ White. Vol 2, Maori Text, p. 37. Vol. 2 AMH, p. 38.

¹⁴ 'he maro waero kuri a ratou maro'

¹⁵ 'he maro kura a ratou maro'

was intimated in a proverb that was taken as advice to those about to visit an important person to put on their best clothes:

Ruia te waero, kia tae koe ki te whare o Ketaraia.
Shake the (doghair) cloak before you enter the house of Ketaraia.¹⁶

An East Coast story illustrates the use of huru garments to create a sumptuous appearance; showing also that status garments identified both male and female chiefly individuals, demonstrating their rank, and adding mana to an occasion. The chief Tapuae of Te Reinga at Te Wairoa put on his mahiti (white dog-tail fur cloak) over his paepaeroa in preparation to greet his visitors, Taharakau and Te Angiangi from Turanga. His 'rangitira' [sic] wife, whom the story records as having higher status than that of her husband, awaited them wearing her kakahu-kiwi, with huia feathers on both sides of her head.¹⁷ The story confirms that both men and women of rank wore garments of fur or feathers.

STATUS INDICATORS AND IDENTIFICATION MARKERS

Traditional evidence shows that huru garments not only provided ornate body covering indicating status; the different materials and styles could also provide a tohu or sign by which an individual might be recognised. A Ngati Whatua tradition tells of their ancestress, Te Hana, who left her huru on the shore when she began her epic swim from Te Tauhara across the Kaipara estuary to Manukapua. After much searching, her people discovered and identified her cloak, thereby realising where she had gone.¹⁸ Oral tradition provides evidence that furred or feathered cloaks were highly individual possessions.

Distinctive red feather cloaks provide further examples of exclusive possessions. Tuhoe tradition tells of twin half-sisters of Kahuki who were killed in the forest by Tamango, the chief of Te Tini o Toi at Otere Pa. When Kahuki subsequently asked how he could recognise Tamango in battle, the answer given him was 'A red feather cloak.'¹⁹ Similarly, in the last Tuhoe raid on Taupo, the Ngati Tuwharetoa warrior, Te Kiore, was identified by his red cloak. On the march to Taupo, the tohunga Uhia had prophesied that victory for Tuhoe would be achieved

¹⁶ Shortland, 1856, p. 200. Unfortunately, the identity of Ketaraia appears to have been lost; nonetheless, the proverb reflects the idea of optimising one's appearance.

¹⁷ Mohi Turei, 1911, 'Tu-whakairi-ora', in *JPS*, Vol. 22, No. 77, 1911. Translated by H.W. Williams, pp. 62-5.

¹⁸ Hemi Parata Raukauri, 1892. Translated by S. Percy Smith, 1911. 'The Story of Te Hana, daughter of Maru-Patua and Hou-pipito' in *JPS*, Vol. 20, No. 78, pp.86-94. Smith places this history in the sixteenth century.

¹⁹ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe...* Vol. 1, p. 101.

following the death of a man who wore a red feathered cloak. At Orona, Uhia held the Tuhoe forces from attacking until the red cloaked figure of his dream had appeared and could be destroyed. Thus, Te Kiore was specifically targeted and his appearance was keenly awaited. When he was seen in an approaching canoe, Te Kiore's red feather cloak marked him out; his demise was inevitable, and Tuhoe won their victory.²⁰ This story shows that in addition to identifying individuals with mana, particularly distinctive garments might be known beyond the immediate tribal boundaries of their owners.

WARRIORS AND SKIN GARMENTS

Capes and cloaks made of skins were often worn by warriors and frequently featured in stories of war. In a Ngati Kahungunu story of a warrior party travelling to Whangara, the men were carrying '*mahiti* (white dog hair mats, made of the hair of dogs' tails), *puahi* (white mats made of dogskin) ... and various other sorts...'.²¹ These cloaks will have belonged to the individuals who carried them; as members of a war party did not carry goods for other people. In another story, when the modest forces of Ngati Porou leader Tuwhakairiora met the opposing multitudes at Paepaenui, they saw vast companies of warriors and chiefs wearing 'töpuni, ihipuni [sic]²², pūahi, and māhiti', as well as 'kahukiwi, kahukeruru' and other garments woven of harakeke.²³ This list conveys the sense that the Ngati Porou were up against an impressively arrayed army.

Dogskin cloaks were not only worn for impressive appearance, they gave their wearers practical protection. A cloak of dog-pelts, sometimes called 'He tapahu o Irawou', was reputed to parry enemy thrusts in combat.²⁴ Traditional evidence shows that warriors sometimes used their dogskin garments in strategic ways. In Ngati Maru tradition, Tikitearoha used the prestigious nature of his dogskin cloak to disarm his adversaries. He threw it down from the tree-top pa of Rapatu, into the midst of the assembled warriors from Hako sub-tribes. As they scrambled to obtain it, they were leapt upon from above and overcome.²⁵ Ngati Whatua used their dogskin cloaks another way. When Tuperiri led his assault on the pa of the

²⁰ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe...* Vol. 1, pp. 452-455.

²¹ White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, p. 95.

²² I.e.: Ihupuni.

²³ Mohi Turei, 1911, 'Tu-whakairi-ora', 1911. in *JPS*, Vol. 22, No. 77, 1911. Translated by H.W. Williams, pp. 17-34. This action was believed to be set about the mid-sixteenth century.

²⁴ Best, 1902. 'Notes on the Art of War' part 2 in *JPS* 11, p. 69. There is some difficulty reconciling the wearing of cloaks in battle, and stories of fighting in virtual nudity. The only explanation appears to be the usual indication of status.

Waio-Hua at Mangere, locals had spread pipi shells along the paths to prevent a surprise attack. However, the Ngati Whatua took off their kahu topuni and spread them over the shells to ensure their approach to the pa was silent.²⁶

EXTENSION OF IDENTITY

Huru cloaks were more than merely items of apparel that showed identity and status, and provided protection for warriors. Belonging to high-ranking individuals, they became invested with a degree of the personal identity, effectively becoming an extension of the individual and of his or her mana. This led to specific forms of use that were established cultural practice. The garment or ornament alone could be seen to stand for the actual owner. This element of personal agency could be used to mark ownership so that these items conveyed a sense of authority, making a 'claim' or giving a form of custody that could be used for a variety of ends.

A Ngai Tahu tradition shows one example of how this concept of ownership could be used. Hostilities amongst Ngai Tahu and their Ngatimamoe connections during Moki's conquest of Banks Peninsula ceased around the 1730s as a result of action taken by Te Rangitamaui with his dogskin cloak. The elderly chief Tutekawa was killed at Waihora in retaliation for earlier killings of his own. Moki and his war party then occupied the pa, spending the night there. At nearby Taumutu, the son of Tutekawa, Te Rangitamaui, was alerted by the unusual amount of smoke coming from his father's pa, where his wife was staying. He was able to make his way through sleeping warriors to find his wife Punahikoia, and ascertain that she and his children had been well treated. Then he laid his cloak over the knees of the sleeping Moki, bidding his wife to wake Moki later with the message, 'Your life was in my hands, but I gave it back to you.' Moki was humiliated when he discovered that he had been caught off guard. Te Rangitamaui had cleverly placed Moki in his debt by covering and thereby 'claiming' him, which action at the same time probably 'protected' him so that no-one else would have killed him. The result was that rather than continuing carnage, negotiations for peace began the following day.²⁷

²⁵ White, *AMH*. Vol. 5, p. 32.

²⁶ Smith, 1897, (The Peopling of the North....) In supplement to *JPS* Vol. 6, 1897, pp. 1-108.

²⁷ Rev. James Stack, 1877. *Traditional History of the South Island Maoris*, Kiwi Publishers, Christchurch, Facsimile Edition, 1996, p. 30. This story bears strong resemblance to the biblical account in which David cut off the hem of Saul's robe, 1 Samuel Ch. 24, v. 4.

Another example is seen in the Ngati Kahungunu story of Tuwhakairiora's seizure of Ihiko-oterangi [sic], wife of Tuhauanu. As her kidnappers departed, they shouted to her husband that his wife was being taken away. Hearing them, Tuhauanu seized his topuni, and raced after them, at the same time calling out to them to go, but 'go gently'. When he reached the raiding party, he and his wife wept and mourned together, before he covered her with his topuni.²⁸ White commented that the chief had made two noble acts in giving up his wife, and his valuable cloak. However, Tuhauanu's acquiescence to Tuwhakairiora indicates his lower status; in covering his wife with his topuni he was giving her an extension of himself, perhaps as his means of showing his love for her, at the same time accepting her new role.

The sense of ownership was demonstrated when such cloaks were used to establish patrimony. In the Wanganui story of Whaki-tapui and Tutaiaroa, when Paihau caught up with his runaway wife, he left his dogskin garment as a covering for his unborn child that she carried.²⁹ Again, the cloak can be seen as an extension of the owner, a non-verbal acknowledgement of paternal ownership and potential protection of his child.

Evidence shows that women of status exercised the same prerogatives as their male counterparts, their mana extending the same sense of ownership and authority. Rangi-Topeora was a niece of Te Rauparaha. When Ngati Toa attacked the Tapui-nikau Pa, her uncle arranged the 'calling out'³⁰ of the local chief, Te Ratutonu, with whom Topeora had a previous liaison. As the warrior approached, Topeora ran and threw her topuni around his shoulders, thus claiming him for herself.³¹ Her mana, extended through her dogskin cloak, was sufficient to ensure her will prevailed. The element of symbolic ownership may be inferred by the fact that Te Ratutonu remained her partner until he was killed in inter-tribal conflict a few years later.

This factor of personal agency with which the garment of a high status individual was imbued meant that it was not appropriate to wear another person's cloak. According to White's version, the Kai-Huanga feud of Ngai Tahu originated

²⁸ White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, pp.136-7.

²⁹ Kerehoma Tu-whawhakia, of Kaiwhaiki, Whanganui, 1896, 'The Story of Whaki-tapui, and Tutaiaroa' in *JPS* Vol. 5. Translated by S. Percy Smith, pp. 155- 70.

³⁰ 'Calling out' was a custom which allowed a beleaguered individual safe conduct into the enemy's camp. This instance occurred in 1818.

³¹ S.P. Smith, 1910. *History and Traditions of the Maoris of the West Coast North Island of New Zealand Prior to 1840*. Thomas Avery, New Plymouth, pp. 288-9.

because Murihaka, the wife of Potahi, put on 'a dog-skin mat belonging to Tamaiharanui', which cloak had been left in the charge of another at Waikakahi. This act was considered a great insult by the immediate relatives of the absent chief, setting in motion a chain of killings which culminated in a number of battles.³² In Taylor's version, it was two members of the hapu at Kaiapoi who wore cloaks that had belonged to the fallen chiefs Hape and Te Puhirere which caused this feud.³³ The evidence suggests that presumption and lack of status on the part of the usurper was the most significant factor, rather than the gender of the borrower.

SKIN CLOAKS AND ORNAMENTS IN CULTURAL PRACTICE

The gifting of valued possessions in Maori society had its own protocol; in accordance with traditional practice, appropriate reciprocation was required.³⁴ Cloaks incorporating skins were highly prestigious garments. Although there is no traditional evidence about the rights of use pertaining to birdskins, the use of dogskin appears to have been restricted to people with mana. The combination of exclusive materials and labour intensive methods of construction would have ensured a modest rate of cloak production that governed their availability to only the powerful members of society, and thereby maintained their desirability.

An indication of the great prestige in which dogskin cloaks were held is shown by the exchange that the ancestral chief Turi made with his father-in-law Toto, before coming to New Zealand. Turi traded with Toto a 'double' dogskin cloak made of the pelts of eight dogs for the recently completed *Aotea*, a sea-going canoe in which Turi could leave Rangiatea. The implications of the 'double' nature of the cloak are now unclear, they may have meant the cloak was reversible; but the names of the dogs were retained in mythology, thereby emphasising the importance of the garment.³⁵

A further example is shown when Tapa-kakahu, an ancestor of Te Whakatohea, made a gift of his waero or cloak of white dog tail-hair tassels. While fishing, he

³² White, *AMH*, Vol. 3, pp. 266-78.

³³ W.A. Taylor, 1948. 'Little Akaloa' in *Banks Peninsula : Picturesque and Historic*. Bascands, Christchurch, n.p.

³⁴ See Raymond Firth, 1959, *Economics of the New Zealand Maori*, R.E. Owen, Government Printer, Wellington, p. 37, for an explanation of different types of giving; a straightforward gift, gift-exchange, or bartering.

³⁵ Buck, 1949, pp. 64, 171. The names were: Potakatawhiti, Pukekowhatarangi, Whakapapatuakura, Matawaritehuia, Kakarikitawhiti, Mitimaiterangiu, Nukuteapiapi and Mitimaiteparu. However, another story claims there were twelve pelts.

lost a highly prized heirloom, a greenstone fish-hook inlaid with paua. When a woman who found it in the mouth of a kahawai returned it to him, he rewarded her with his cloak.³⁶ It is significant that the waero was considered an appropriate gift, thus indicating the value of the heirloom to Tapa-kakahu, and notable also that a woman was the recipient of such an item.

An extraordinary gifting of a dogskin cloak has been recorded, that may or may not have been specific to this type. Early in the nineteenth century a white dogskin cloak with dark brown borders was woven as a 'kahu mamae'. This 'garment of pain' was made after a number of Tuhourangi chiefs were killed at Puke-kahu near Lake Rere-whakaaitu. One of the widows, the high ranking woman Pareraututu (born ca. 1796) carried it to the marae of Ngati Maniapoto chief, Tukorehu. There she remained until she aroused the compassion of Tukorehu to such a degree that he agreed to avenge the misfortunes of her people. According to Hari Semmens, her great grandson and kaumatua of Te Arawa:

Her method of persuasion used no words. Instead she sat silently upon Tukorehu's marae for days on end, wrapped in the *kahumamae* and refusing to eat. Eventually, Tukorehu's heart was so moved that he accepted Pareraututu's request by lifting the cloak from her shoulders and placing it on his own.³⁷

The cloak passed into Tukorehu's keeping.³⁸ The evidence suggests that in this case, when the chief accepted the cloak and the 'pain' that it represented, he accepted the obligation of repayment that it carried.³⁹

Evidence shows that accepting a valuable gift always carried an obligation and the mana or power of an individual continued to be made visible through items of apparel even after European settlement began. In the nineteenth century, the

³⁶ Margaret Orbell, 1992, rep 1997. *Traditional Maori Stories*, Reed, Auckland. pp. 118-21. 'Tona kakau waero'.

³⁷ Tapsell, 1997, in *JPS*, 106 (4) 323-374.

³⁸ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe...* Vol. 1., p. 443, Hamilton, 1901, p. 328. This cloak still exists. It was passed to the grandson of Tukorehu, Rewi Maniapoto, who gave it to Ihakara Tukumarū of Foxton on the birth of his daughter. In 1866, Ihakara presented it to the Taupo chief Poihipi Tukairangi. It eventually came into the hands of Captain Gilbert Mair who subsequently sold it to the Auckland Museum. Pendergrast, 1987, p. 94.

³⁹ There is a precedent for this ritual cognition of a tacitly expressed call for help. Best records the story of the Ngati-Rongo leader, Te Rangi-mo-waho who used a specially treated garment for the purposes of tiwha, (also known as kara, ngakau, koha and wāhi) to invite allies to join him in a proposed battle against Ngati-Raka. Using a firebrand, he deliberately burned holes into his horihori, a cloak decorated with twisted black strands. Then he put on the damaged cloak and went to Otamahaka Pa near Te Koau. According to Best, any Maori seeing him clad in that garment would instantly have known, without a word being spoken, that Rangi-mo-waho was seeking armed assistance. When he arrived at the Pa, he took off the burned cloak and placed it on the shoulders of Raha. By allowing the garment to remain on his shoulders, Raha indicated his assent to the unspoken request. Then Tohi-a-manu arrived and recognised the circumstances. He

Waikato chief Papaka⁴⁰ visited the Ngatihape. He wore a waero (tassel of white dog tail-hair) as an ear pendant. He presented this to his Ngatihape host, who publicly accepted it. Soon afterwards, Papaka returned and assumed leadership of the Ngatihape tribe and consequently, a right to their lands.⁴¹ In accepting the gift, and not making appropriate reciprocation, the Ngatihape were beholden to Papaka.

An ambiguous aspect of the ownership and role of skin garments is contained in the tradition of Pare, the lover of Hutu. As a puhi (prestigious unmarried girl), Pare lived apart from her people in a special carved house that was 'adorned' with topuni and other fine cloaks.⁴² The story does not tell whether she owned or wore these items, but does suggest a potential storage place of cloaks when they were not in use; such garments may have been hung in important houses. However, as it has been shown that an element of personal mana was invested in this type of cloak, they may have conveyed another meaning; the cloaks may have symbolised the presence and protection of warrior owners.

This re-examination of traditional evidence begins the process of reconstructing a more realistic picture of the use of skins as elements of Maori dress. It shows that skin garments had a long established history and were an integral part of early Maori society, asserting the rank of those who wore them, showing them to be eponymous ancestors, men and women of the chiefly class, and warriors. The extension of personal agency - otherwise the mana of the owner - through such garments signals the wider complexity and significance of these items within traditional Maori society.

acknowledged his willingness to participate by lifting the cloak from Raha's shoulders and placing it on his own. Best, 1925. *Tuhoe*... Vol. 1, p. 329.

⁴⁰ This may have been Papaka, the third son of Herea, Te Heuheu Tukino I, who had Ngati Maniapoto and Waikato ancestry through his mother Rangiaho. He was killed by Te Ati Awa in 1834. *The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography*, Vol. 1, 1769-1869. Allen & Unwin, and Department of Internal Affairs, Wellington, 1990, pp. 446-7.

⁴¹ White, *Maori Superstitions*, p. 196.

⁴² White, *AMH*, Vol 2, pp. 163-4. White uses the term 'adorned'. 'Ko roto o tona whare he mea whakapaipai rawa ki te taitaki ki te korowai ki te topuni, a ko nga mea whakakakara he kawakawa, me nga mea kakara katoa a te Maori.' Vol 2, p. 158.

SECTION B: Material evidence

Previous research of material evidence of bird and animal skins as elements of traditional Maori dress has been slight. The bio-degradable nature of textiles means that evidence is sparse, and while archaeological evidence offers some information on the patterns of bird hunting and mammal exploitation,⁴³ it offers less on the eventual use of skins and plumage as part of dress. The available material evidence has received little specialised attention in the past. Current classifications of skin garments are inconclusive, and fail to differentiate between methods of construction. There has been little examination of the manufacturing techniques of garments of birdskin or dogskin, and the implications of Maori sewing technology have been ignored. A re-examination of the material evidence reveals a level of technical skill that has not been previously recognised. Simple forms of stitching are used to attach bindings of dogskin on early garments with decorative elements incorporating strips of bird- and dogskins. Re-examinations of stitched pelts show the development of complex sewing skills that varied markedly in different regions of the country.

PROBLEMS OF IDENTIFICATION

While oral traditions have indicated the diversity of skin garments – as previously listed, bird skins for kahu-kiwi, kakahu-kura, kahu-toroa, sealskin for kahu-kekeno,⁴⁴ and dogskins for kahu-waero, puahi,⁴⁵ topuni, mawhiti,⁴⁶ or mahiti,⁴⁷ ihupuni, ihupukupuku and tapahu, and so forth - the identification of all these items is not entirely straightforward.

While some of these garments are known, many are difficult to distinguish with certainty. Linguistic evidence highlights some of the problems in substantiating exactly what various items were and the lack of explicit terminology precludes precise definitions. The words 'kahu' and 'kakahu' could mean either a 'cloak' or the shorter 'cape'; 'huru' was used to denote both feathered and furred garments. The 'kuaira' was said to be a garment of fur, hair or feathers, made in very ancient

⁴³ For some indication of archaeological evidence see Trevor Worthy, 1997. 'What was on the Menu? Avian Extinction in New Zealand', in *New Zealand Journal of Archaeology* Vol. 19, pp. 125-160. Also Roger Fyfe, 1988. 'The Opua Moahunter Midden, Cape Egmont, Taranaki' in *Archaeology in New Zealand*, 31 (4) pp. 228-32.

⁴⁴ Grey, 1971, p. 129.

⁴⁵ Grey, 1971, p. 129.

⁴⁶ Grey, 1971, p. 131.

⁴⁷ *Pipiwharauroa*. 126, 3.

times 'from the realm of Mataora',⁴⁸ but nothing more is known and it may possibly have incorporated all of these materials. Archaeological evidence shows that in southern regions, bird and dogskins were used in combination on the same cloaks. These, being composed of fur, hair or feathers, may have been the garments known as 'kuaira'.

Further confusion is produced by the names of different styles of cloaks. Apparently simple classifications of dogskin cloaks may have been affected by local dialects that identified items with terminology which had different meanings in other regions. Certainly, eighteenth- and nineteenth-century scholars have given varied interpretations of the same designated style. For example, Hamilton described the topuni as a 'war-mat' made of the skins of black dogs, cut into strips and sewn to the body of the cloak, with a thick shaggy collar of thin dogskin strips. He maintained it was the least prized type of kahu kuri, but still worn only by chiefs.⁴⁹ Mead defined it as a closely covered, black or dark dogskin cloak, with a light coloured border at the neck and sides.⁵⁰ White recapitulated the topuni was 'made of dog-skin, with the hair on the outer side, with the long hair of the dog's tail woven on the border of the upper edge',⁵¹ but gave no indication that the colour might be significant. Beaglehole, referring to a black cloak, stated that a topuni was a rare and valuable cloak, 'as black in the native dog was an uncommon colour'.⁵² In his 1987 work, *Te Aho Tapu: The Sacred Thread*, Pendergrast identifies a brown and white vertical striped dogskin cloak as a topuni.⁵³ However, Southland Maori advised Beattie that 'kakahu topuni' were feather garments, usually made of kiwi and toroa,⁵⁴ which would produce a brown and white cloak. The need for some standardisation is obvious. For simplification, this thesis uses the more widely known Mead definition.

MANUFACTURE OF BIRDSKIN GARMENTS

Isolating the method of feathered garment construction is not straightforward. Names identifying or describing garments that incorporated feathers or birdskin do

⁴⁸ Williams, p. 154. (*Transactions. Of the Royal Society of N.Z.*, xxxi, 635). See also, Pio of Ngati Awa, in Hamilton, 1901, p. 279.

⁴⁹ Hamilton, 1901, p. 286.

⁵⁰ Mead, 1969, p. 46.

⁵¹ White, *AMH*, Vol. 2, p. 164.

⁵² Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, fn p. 177.

⁵³ Pendergrast, 1987, pp. 32, 93.

⁵⁴ Beattie, 1994, p. 47.

not usually clarify how they were made.⁵⁵ This emphasises omissions in current knowledge because the material evidence shows that three different manufacturing techniques can be identified. These comprise (A) construction using strips of birdskin, (B) construction using stitched birdskin, and (C) construction using intertwined feathers.

Where garments are identified by the name of the material source, the use of entire skins, or the use of inserted feathers often appear to be interchangeable. For example, Williams defines kahu-toroa as a cape covered with albatross down, kakahu-kura as a cloak with red feathers, and kahu-kiwi as a cloak with kiwi feathers, but the manufacturing techniques of these are not apparent. A small section of a garment intertwined with stiff white albatross feathers was found in Central Otago.⁵⁶ The insertion of feathers is time consuming but not excessively difficult; however, in contrast to stiff white feathers, albatross down comprises more delicate feathers which would not only be more time consuming to insert by twining, but also because of their nature would not wear well. Nonetheless, extant kakahu-kura gained their name from the small red feathers entwined in their kaupapa. Against this, Pendergrast has argued that the intertwined feather cloak was a mid-nineteenth century phenomenon.⁵⁷ However, it is known that before this period, birdskins were used to make clothing. As evidence will show, the kahu-toroa and kahu-kiwi may have been made by more than one method.

(A) CONSTRUCTION USING STRIPS OF BIRDSKIN

Material evidence from the Southland region shows that strips of birdskin were incorporated in the making of cloaks. Such strips were individually attached to the vertical whenu or warp fibres prior to assemblage. A cloak fragment found on Lee Island had feathered strips of kiwi skin overlaying every second whenu. Anderson reported that the piece was constructed by the single-pair twining method. The whenu threads were spaced at three per 10 mm, and held in place by the twined

⁵⁵ The exception is the kakahu kura. This is red feathered, in which the feathers must be entwined because New Zealand has no completely red birds. In contrast, a kahu kura is a red cloak, which may be coloured with red ochre.

⁵⁶ Hamilton, 1901, p. 281.

⁵⁷ M. Pendergrast, 1996. 'The Fibre Arts' in *Maori Art and Culture*, Starzecka (ed.) p. 116. He bases this argument on the fact that feathered cloaks are absent from the records of Pakeha artists in the first half of the nineteenth century. See also *Te Aho Tapu*, p. 106.

aho or weft threads which were also 10 mm apart. The neck edge was covered with a dogskin binding⁵⁸ (Figure 5.1).

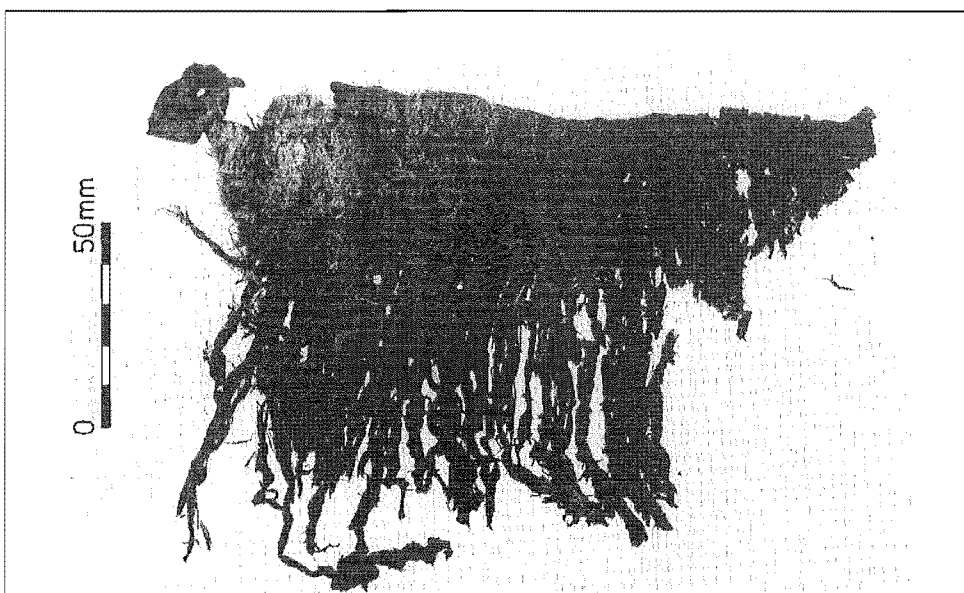


Figure 5.1 Lee Island fragment shows folded dogskin binding at top edge, used with strips of kiwi skin attached vertically to alternate whenu. (Photograph, *Beech Forest Hunters*).

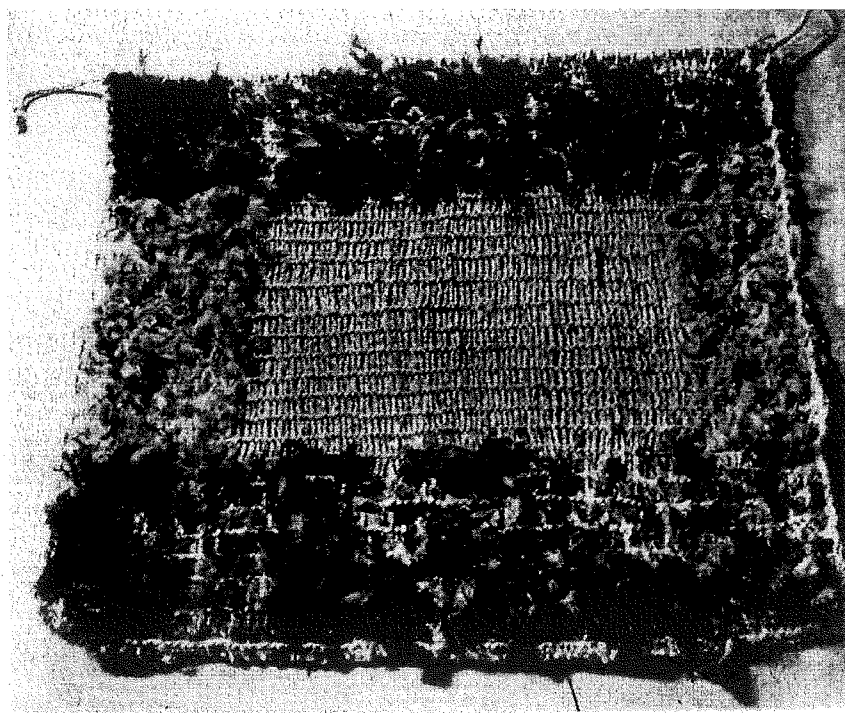


Figure 5.2 Lake Hauroro cloak replica. Otago Museum.

⁵⁸ Atholl Anderson, Jean Goulding and Moira White, 1991. 'Bark and Fibre Artefacts' in *Beech Forest Hunters*, (eds.) Anderson and McGovern-Wilson. New Zealand Archaeological Association, Auckland, pp. 43-55

Likewise, the kaupapa of the Lake Hauroko cloak (Figure 5.2 and 5.4) utilised strips of feathered birdskin with a folded dogskin neck edge.⁵⁹ This cloak had strips of kakapo skin attached to the whenu by a process that Simmons identified as diamond hitching. The whenu threads were then linked by using an aho or weft thread to loop them together (Figures 5.3 and 5.4). This technique is no longer practised and can be seen as a precursor to the development of whatu or finger twining, in which single-paired or double-paired aho are twisted around the warp fibres.

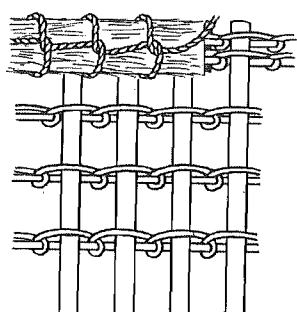


Figure 5.3 Sketch showing dogskin binding attached at top, and weft looping that predates the whatu technique.

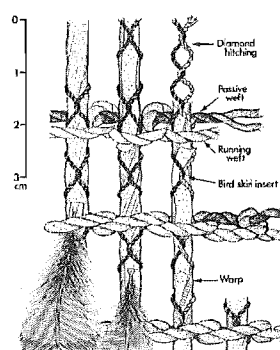


Figure 5.4 Sketch showing strips of birdskin attached to the whenu.

Both these items had folded dogskin attached along the neck edge. The binding technique of these attachments is evidence of early sewing, using a simple form of blanket stitch or half hitching. Radio carbon dated evidence dates these garments at 300 ± 50 years BP, placing them within the latter half of the seventeenth century AD.⁶⁰ In the Otago Museum, a third cloak was reportedly overlaid with strips of birdskin believed to be from the green 'parroquet' or kakariki, while the neck and hem had fringing of black, reddish-brown and white haired dogskin strips.⁶¹ The material evidence thus records ground birds kiwi and kakapo as well as the kakariki skins utilised in the skin-strip method of construction.

⁵⁹ D. Simmons, 1968. *The Lake Hauroko Burial and the Evolution of Maori Clothing*. Records of the Otago Museum, Otago Museum Trust Board, Dunedin, pp. 4-6. A reconstruction of this garment is held in the Otago Museum, but could not be located in May, 2000.

⁶⁰ Michael M. Trotter, 1972. 'Investigation of a Maori Cave Burial on Mary Island, Lake Hauroko' in *Records of the Canterbury Museum*, 1972, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 113 – 128. p. 126.

⁶¹ Hamilton, 1901, pp. 282-3. This item could not be located when I visited the Museum in May, 2000.

(B) CONSTRUCTION USING STITCHED BIRDSKIN

Birdskins were stitched together for clothing. Archaeological evidence of bone needles and awls found at the Wairau Bar indicate that Maori were sewing some 700 years ago.⁶² As previously stated, traditional evidence recorded that kakapo skins were used for the girdles or kilts of young women.⁶³ Documentary evidence was recorded in 1824 on Duperrey's visit to the Bay of Islands; Lesson recorded the use of kiwi skins, noting that Maori hunted kiwi with dogs and made cloaks of them by sewing several skins together.⁶⁴ Material evidence exists in the form of stitched weka skins that were found at a schist cave burial site of a woman and child on the Strath Taieri plains near Middlemarch, in 1881.⁶⁵

The stitched brown weka skins offer evidence of how other birdskins may have been joined for use. Initially consisting of five joined pieces when they were examined by Augustus Hamilton in 1881, they were described as an inner wrapping. When re-examined for this research in May 2000, the skins were dry and papery with only two seams remaining (Figure 5.5).

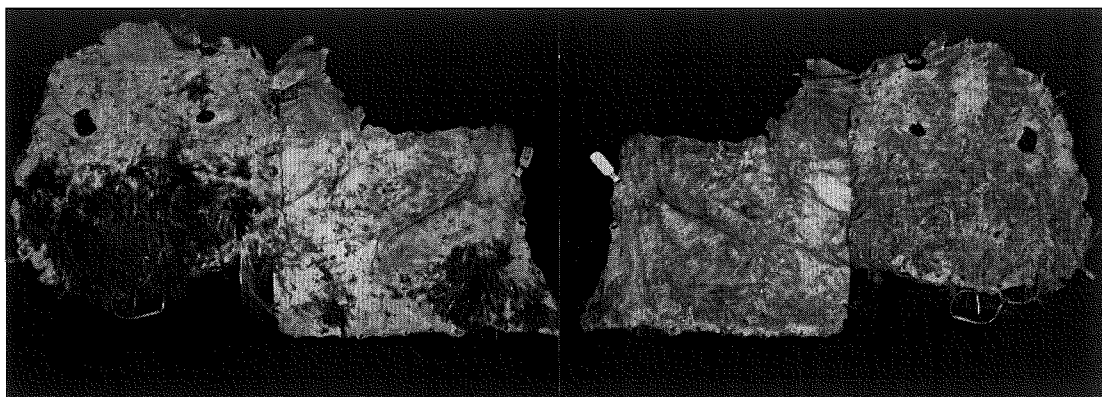


Figure 5.5 Upper and undersides of two pieces of stitched weka skin. Otago Museum D10.172b.

⁶² See Roger Duff, 1977. *The Moa Hunter Period of Maori Culture*. Government Printer, Wellington.

⁶³ J. Stack, 1984, *South Island Maoris, a sketch of their history and legendary lore*. pp. 72 - 73

⁶⁴ A. Sharp, (ed.) *Duperrey's visit to New Zealand in 1824*, pp. 82-3. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington.

⁶⁵ Cottessmore Station near Middlemarch, Central Otago. Hamilton, 1892, pp. 486-7.

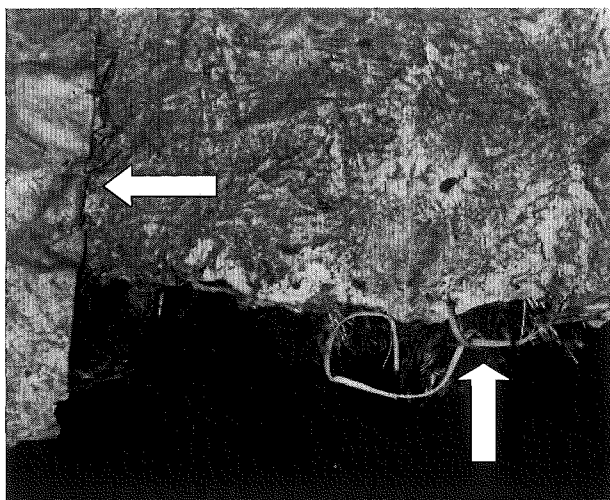


Figure 5.6 Detail of underside of weka skin, showing seam at left, and repair below.

One edge showed evidence that a later unskilled attempt to effect some repair was made with a narrow strip of unprepared flax leaf (Figure 5.6). Hamilton recorded that the seams were oversewn.

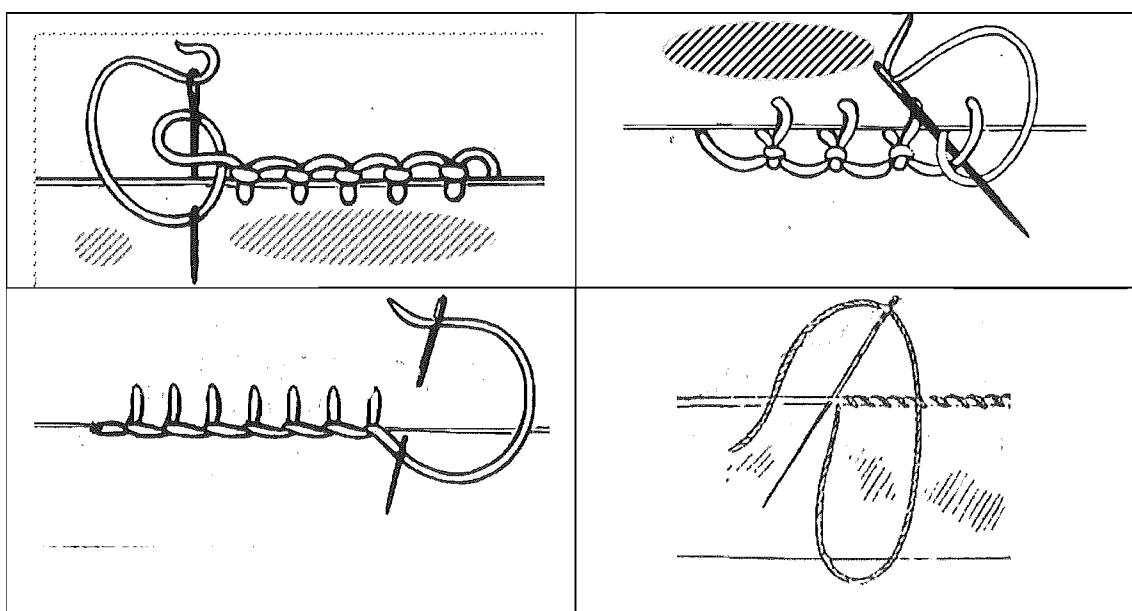


Figure 5.7 Seam sketches for comparison. *Above left:* knotted blanket stitch (also known as Antwerp edging stitch, knot stitch), *above right:* Braid edging stitch. Both of these stitches are similar to that found on Otago weka skins, D.10.172B. *Below left:* simple blanket stitch, *below right:* oversewing, the simple stitching of Hamilton's inaccurate classification.

Hamilton's description is incorrect; re-examination of the seams has revealed that they were made using a form of knotted blanket stitch. This method of sewing has the advantage of not slipping or loosening during the stitching process. It is a complex type of stitching that is evidence of a well established pre-historic

practice, although without undoing a museum specimen it is unlikely that the exact process can be determined.

However, similar forms can be found in European embroidery such as Knot stitch (also known as Antwerp edging stitch and Knotted blanket stitch), or Braid edging stitch (Figure 5.7). Knot stitch is worked as follows:

Working from left to right, bringing the thread through from beneath the material and insert it further to the right downwards from above and out over the thread, in the manner of a buttonhole stitch. Take another stitch over this buttonhole loop as shown by the needle in the diagram and pull tightly into a knot.⁶⁶

Braid edging stitch is worked in the opposite direction:

This stitch is worked from right to left along a hem or turned in edge, the latter being held away from the worker. The thread is brought through from underneath the edge as shown at A on the right of the diagram and looped as indicated. The needle is then taken through this loop and inserted behind the material and brought out again a short distance below the edge and over the working thread, as shown by the needle in the diagram. The thread is then pulled through but not quite tight, as, at this stage if the loop left between the knots is at all irregular, it may be adjusted with the needle.... The thread is then pulled tight away from the worker, and a firm knot will thus be formed against the edge.⁶⁷

Hamilton had described the weka skins as being 'an inner wrapping'. However, a re-examination of them suggests that they were much more. The assemblage of the skin sections demonstrated an emphasis on design. The pieces were clearly part of a carefully planned whole and showed every indication of having once been part of a larger cloak or other garment. In denuded areas the pterylosis showed while in other places the feathers still remained. Apertures indicating where the wings had been removed during the skinning or preparation process varied from small holes (which would not have been visible from the feathered side) to small dried cones of birdskin. Each skin had been cut into a rectangular shape and the skins laid side by side so that the wing holes were in line. This feature would have emphasised the pattern created by feather colouring and texture, showing an intentional planning of aesthetic style.

The seam was further embellished. It was initially overlaid with a strip of moa skin, testifying further to the considered design of this garment. From his examination, Hamilton wrote:

Over one of these seams on the front I found a narrow strip of skin, placed apparently to cover the join, very much decayed, three inches long by a quarter-of-an-inch wide but still carrying a dark-grey down, and five or six double-shafted feathers of the moa. They were much moth-eaten and became detached from the skin during examination.⁶⁸

⁶⁶ Thomas, Mary, 1974. *Mary Thomas's Dictionary of Embroidery Stitches*. Hodder and Stoughton, London, p. 138.

⁶⁷ Thomas, pp. 11-12.

⁶⁸ Hamilton, 1901, p. 486-7.

Hamilton's description leaves some doubt as to whether the moa skin was attached to the feathered or the inner side of the weka skins. The fragment of moa skin, and its detached feathers remain in the Otago museum. However, they add little further to our knowledge of skin garments of the period, except to suggest that moa skins were used for garments at some point in Maori history. The attachment of moa skin strips to a weka skin garment may have added some special importance, and may be paralleled in the nineteenth century practice of embellishing the borders of corners of harakeke cloaks with strips of dogskin. These Otago weka skins, together with the reported stitched kiwi skins, suggest a hypothesis that some kahu-toroa and kahu-kiwi were made from stitched skins of albatross and kiwi respectively, rather than woven of harakeke with feathers inserted by the whatu technique.

(C) CONSTRUCTION USING INTERTWINED FEATHERS.

Garments made with feathers inserted during the weaving process show a different technique. They appear to show two separate developments; a progression from the strips of birdskin attached to warp fibres, and the improved construction of woven cloth. As recorded previously, a fragment of a garment with stiff white albatross feathers woven into it was found in Central Otago.⁶⁹ Kakahu-kura had red feathers interwoven. The technique allowed for the development of patterns and designs incorporating different coloured feathers.

MANUFACTURE OF MAMMAL SKIN GARMENTS

Not only birdskins but also dogskins and sealskins were stitched to make clothing. Although bird and dogskins and dog hair are recorded as being used for both kahu and maro, nothing is known about the construction of skin maro; there appears to be no extant evidence. In contrast, the range of evidence pertaining to kahuhuru suggests that they were still being produced after maro ceased to be worn, although an alternative explanation could be simply that the intimate nature of garments covering the pubic region meant that they were not retained as a cloak might be.

A re-examination of material evidence shows that although cloaks of dogskin came in varied designs, they were produced by two basic techniques of manufacture; these reveal that there were significant differences in sewing

technologies between the North and South Islands. The first method of manufacturing cloaks was the joining together of several entire pelts, with seams using muka fibre or kuri thong (see South Island and North Island stitching techniques). The second method created kahukuri, using a previously woven kaupapa over which narrow strips of dogskin were laid and sewn in place, with the fur lying towards the hem. Different designs were identified by name. Another variation consisted of prepared bunches or quillets of dog hair sewn onto the prepared kaupapa.

(A) SOUTH ISLAND STITCHING TECHNIQUE

The Otago Museum holds pieces of dogskin which are stitched with exactly the same technique as the weka skins discussed previously (Figure 5.8 and Figure 5.9). However, there is no extant evidence of the shape or size of southern stitched dogskin garments.

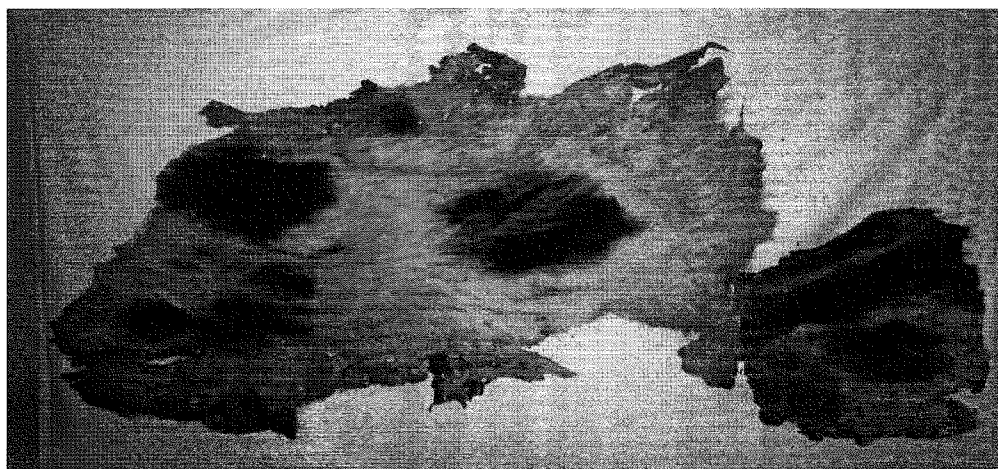


Figure 5.8 Overview of dogskin artefact. Otago Museum D.10.175.

⁶⁹ Hamilton, 1901, p. 281.

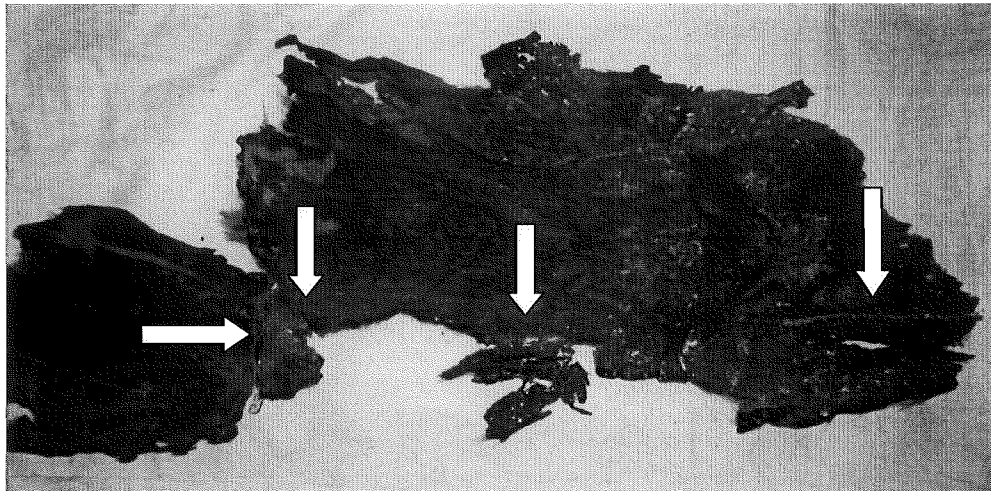


Figure 5.9 Overview of underside of D.10.175, indicating seamed areas.

The re-examination of one dogskin specimen, D.10.175 was particularly significant because it showed that this garment was important enough to its owners to be mended on more than one occasion. At one end there is evidence of five lines of repair stitching (Figure 5.10); these suggest that there was some stress caused by wear at this site.

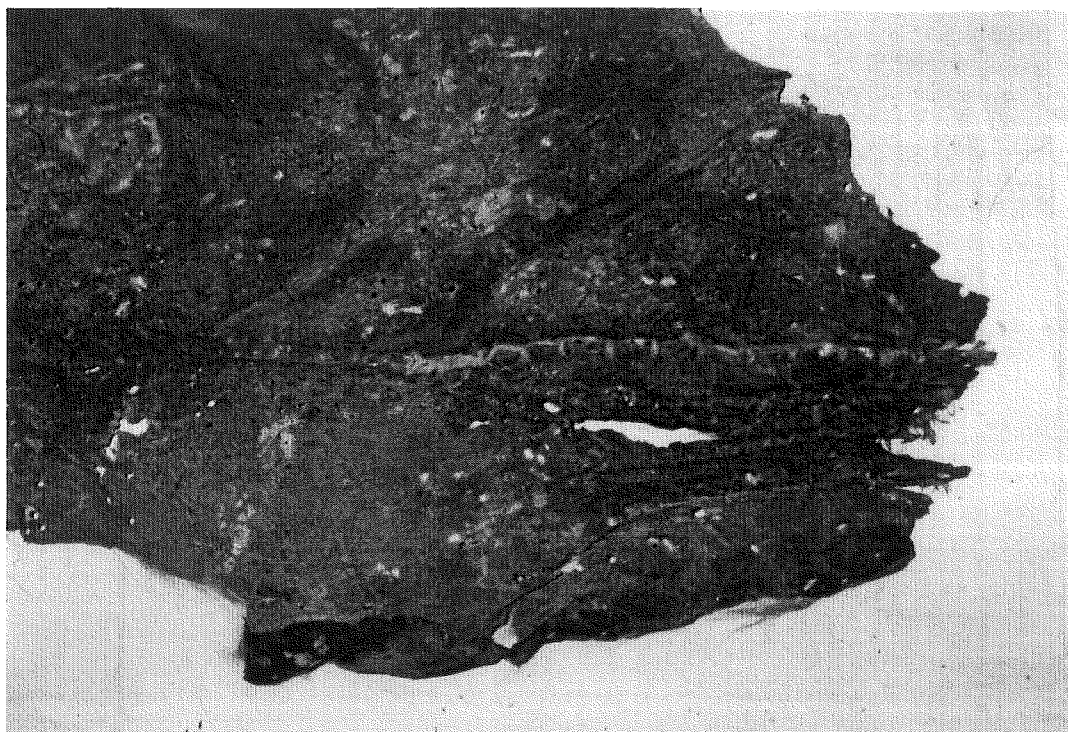


Figure 5.10 Detail of dogskin D.10.175, showing lines of sewing repair.

The repairs are made in muka fibre of least three different tones of colour and thickness, using the same knotted blanket stitch, but with stitch lengths that vary from 70mm to 125 mm. The shortest repair is made with the finest fibre, with stitches 6-7mm apart. The three central repairs are very close to each other, using slightly thicker fibre, with stitches 5-6mm apart. The fifth repair is made in fibre of a much lighter colour, with stitches 7-10mm apart. None of these fibres match the plied fibre used to join the sections of skin together. These variations indicate that the repairs were made at different times, probably by different people, as the hide became weakened as a consequence of prolonged use and age. Whether the repairs were made because the garment was prestigious or for some reason irreplaceable, can only be speculated. What is most important about this item is that it provides the first evidence that Maori carefully mended dogskin garments.

(B) NORTH ISLAND STITCHING TECHNIQUE

Material evidence shows a completely different type of seam was used to stitch sealskin and dogskin in the North Island. In 1913, a section from a stitched sealskin garment (Figure 5.11) was found in a cave in Te Kuiti with the mummified body of a woman.⁷⁰ This artefact is now held in the Auckland Museum, mounted between two sheets of glass. Although there was only one piece of skin, a double row of small, very neat, regular holes around three sides testifies that it was once joined to other pieces (Figure 5.12). The size of the holes show that this must have been a very fine seam. There is no indication of what fibre had been used in sewing, and no evidence recorded about where the piece was found in relation to the woman's body. To date, it is the only example of sealskin material evidence of this type, but it clearly establishes that Maori used sealskins, and had developed appropriate technology to create some form of garment from them.

⁷⁰ Auckland Museum Collection, MHE 23.2.



Figure 5.11 Sealskin artefact, Auckland Museum MHE 23.2.

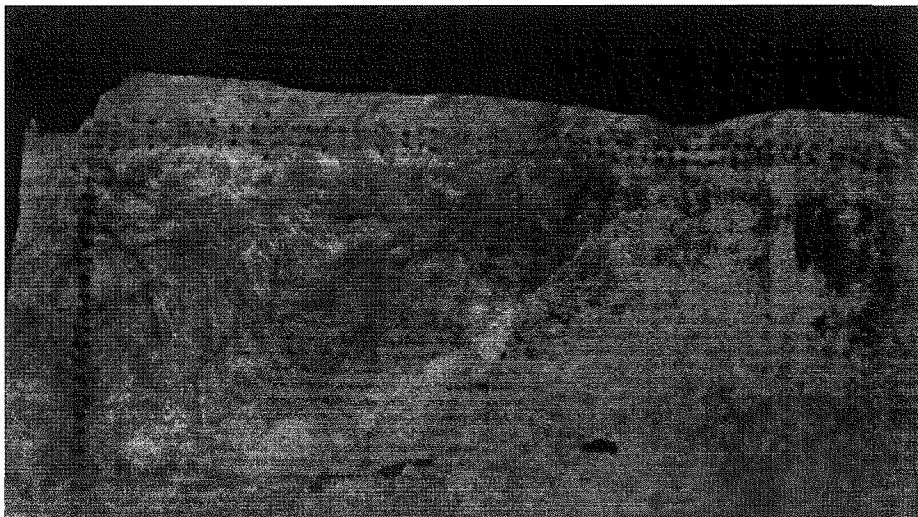


Figure 5.12 Detail showing corner of sealskin remnant, with double stitching holes

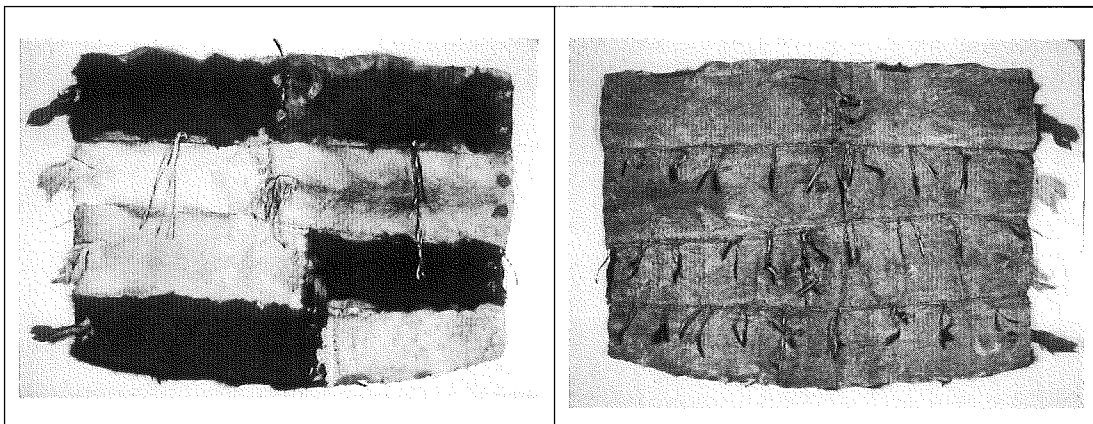


Figure 5.13 Hurukuri, cloak of eight dog pelts stitched together, showing obverse and reverse sides. Taranaki Museum A 79.966.

Maori had developed other techniques to stitch dogskins together, although only one known specimen exists, a cloak stitched of dogskin pelts held in the Taranaki Museum (Figure 5.13). This cloak was made around 1800-1810 by Rawahotana, at Te Namu, Opunake, from skins which had been obtained by his father.⁷¹ It was purchased from Whakataupoti, the son of Rawahotana, by W.H. Skinner for the sum of £4-0-0 at Parihaka in 1885. Skinner had the cloak photographed, worn by Ramaka Te Amai, with the fur side outwards (Figure 5.14). This type of cloak was known locally as a hurukuri.⁷² Other names identifying such garments include tapahu⁷⁴ and tahi-uru,⁷⁵ although there is no evidence that the southern dogskin garment had a similar name.

An examination of the material evidence shows the cloak is made of eight skins sewn together, using a firm, neat seam that has been likened in the Taranaki ethnological register to a 'French seam'. At intervals, decorative dogskin tags hang from the horizontal seams, indicating that the garment was reversible. A re-examination of the seams reveals that they were made by joining two folded edges of skin together, using an interlocking double running stitch. The stitches are made of kuri thong, about 1.5 cm apart, working through a single row of holes and passing through a total of four layers of dogskin. (Figure 5.15). On the fur side of the garment, the folded excess 'seam allowance' of the skins was clearly visible.

⁷¹ Taranaki Museum Ethnological Register.

⁷² Hamilton, 1901, p. 287, Mead, 1969, p. 46.

⁷⁴ Hamilton, 1901, p. 287. Tregear, 1904, p. 236.

⁷⁵ This was apparently a West Coast name. Dieffenbach, *Travels in N.Z.* Vol. 2, pp. 53-4. Tregear, 1904, p. 236.

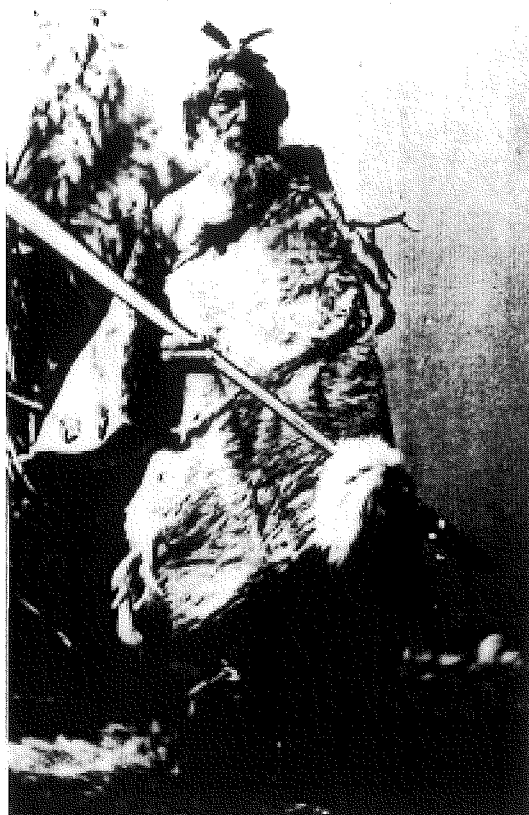


Figure 5.14 Ramaka Te Amai wearing the hurukuri, fur side out. Taranaki A.79.966.

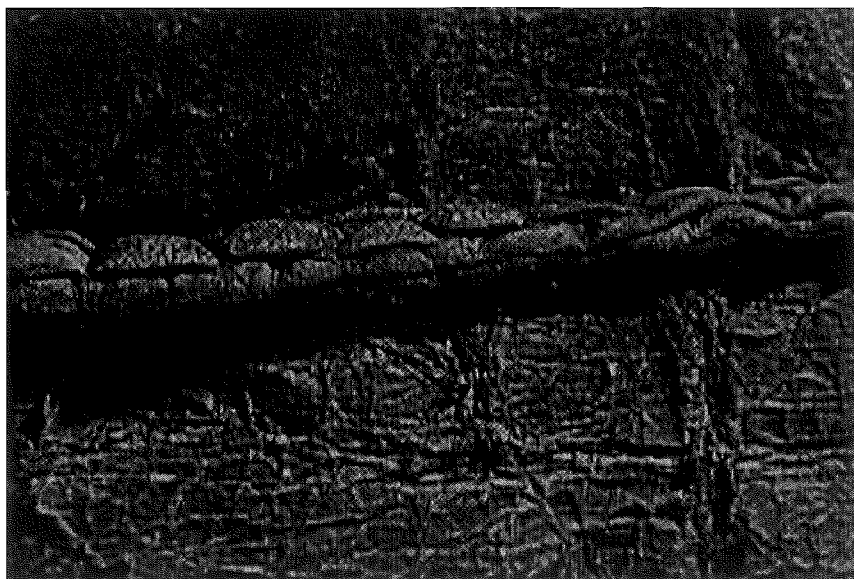


Figure 5.15 Detail of hurukuri folded seam, stitched with kuri-thong.

(C) KAHUKURI: OVERLAID STRIPS OF DOGSKIN

In contrast to the hurukuri of stitched pelts, material evidence shows that kahukuri were cloaks with a firmly woven kaupapa inside, normally overlaid with narrow cut strips of dogskin on the outside (Figure 5.16). The kaupapa was made of plied muka using closely packed, single paired twining, and was a labour intensive process in itself. In some examples, it can be seen that the weaver inserted rows of double paired twining at regular intervals through the body of the cloak; this facilitated the neat, regular attachment of skin pieces. The dogskin strips were usually but not always overlaid vertically, hair downwards, and stitched to the kaupapa in neat straight rows, so that the hair concealed the rows of sewing, causing the garments to look as if they were skins from large animals (Figure 5.17).



Figure 5.16 Overview of kahukuri, which has no hair remaining, thus enabling the rows of stitching to be seen, as well as the woven muka underside. Otago, D.78.12.

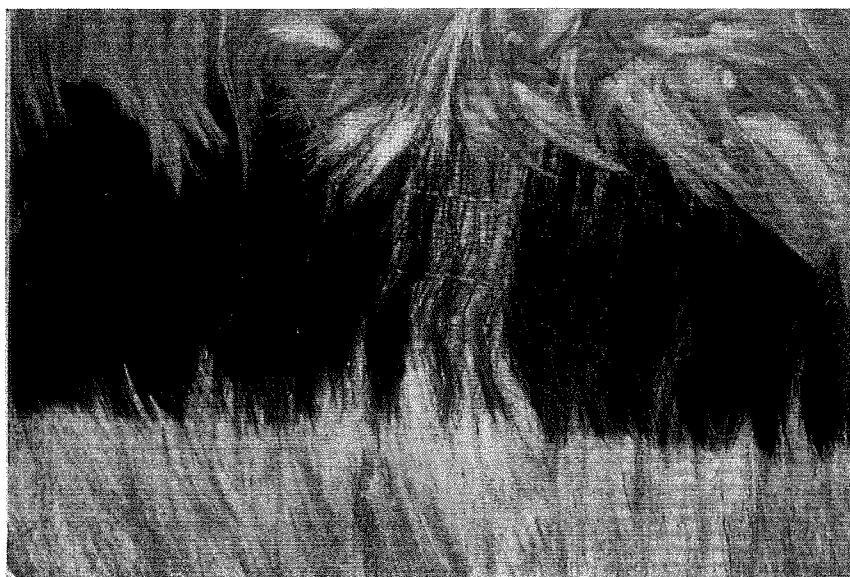


Figure 5.17 Detail of kahukuri with damaged section which shows how the stitching was hidden by the overlying doghair. Te Papa, ME.1822.

Because of their similarly woven flax base, kahu-waero and mawhiti or mahiti are also included as kahukuri. Their ornamentation consisted of clusters or tassels of the long white bushy tail-hair⁷⁶ of white dogs attached to the surface. Such tassels are also known as quilllets. Few of these garments remain. The kahu-waero was covered so closely with hair that the kaupapa could not be seen. Hamilton states that this was the most highly valued of all 'dogskin' cloaks.⁷⁷ An example in the Pitt-River Museum, from Dr Pope's box, may be the only remaining specimen. The mahiti, or mawhiti, was made of the same materials, in almost the same way, excepting that the tassels were less numerous and spaced further apart.⁷⁸ Mead has commented that this type was not mentioned by early observers and suggested that this style may be a later tradition.⁷⁹ The Museum of New Zealand holds one example (Figure 5.18 h).

⁷⁶ Some records (e.g. Hamilton, 1972, p. 286) appear to suggest the cloak was covered literally with dog tails, so I have chosen to be very specific in describing the tail hair of white dogs.

⁷⁷ Hamilton, 1901, p. 286. Mead, 1969, p. 47.

⁷⁸ Hamilton, 1901, p. 286.

⁷⁹ Mead, 1969, p. 49.

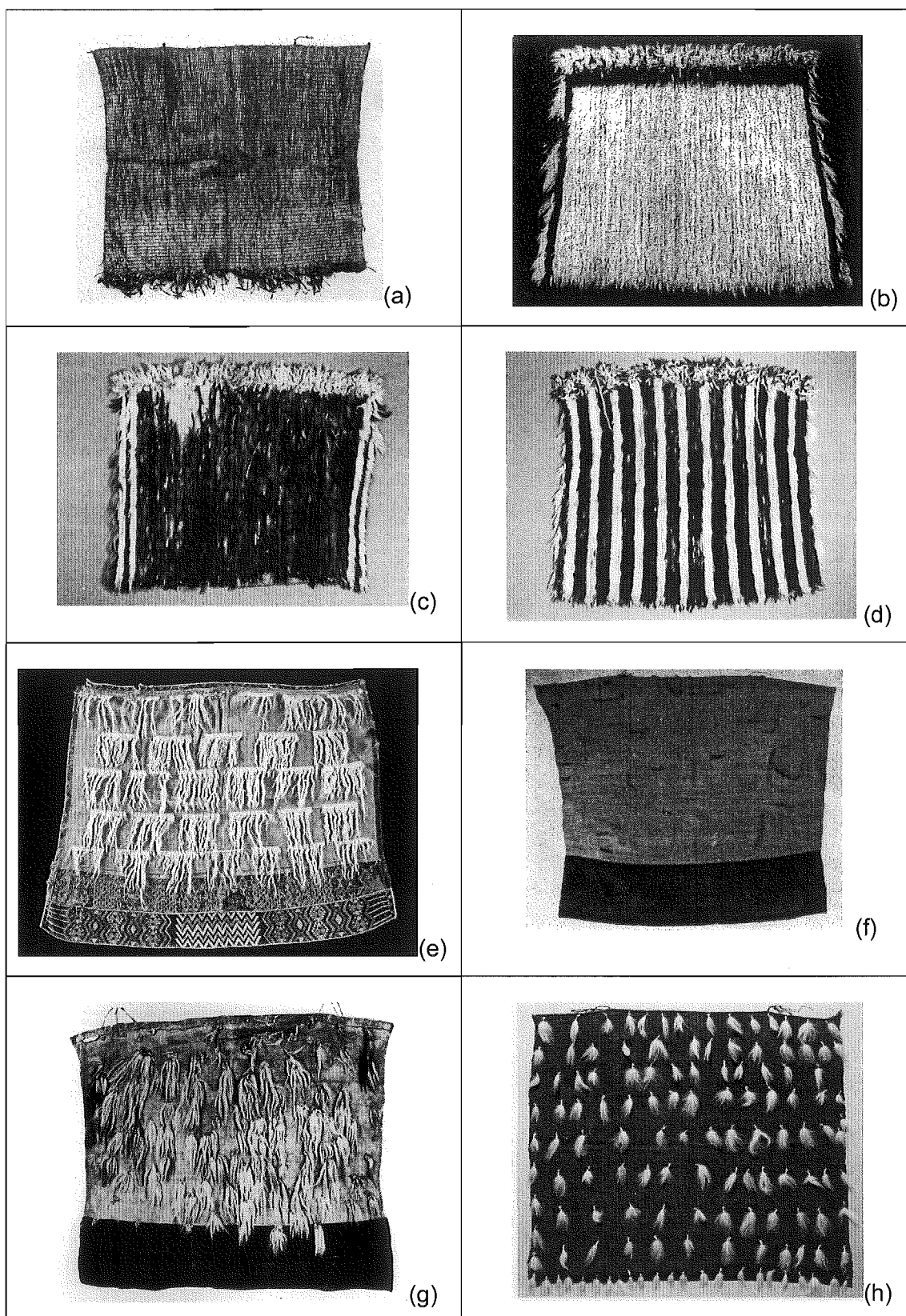


Figure 5.18 Selection of kahukuri, with some tentative identifications: (a) puahi, (white skins with no hair), (b) ihupuni, (white hair with black border), (c) topuni, (dark hair with white border), (d) awarua, (two colours in vertical stripes), (e) kaitaka huaki, with horizontally applied strips of fur (shown here because this goat skin was probably used as dogskin substitute), (f) small horizontal strips of fur, (g) kahu waero, (closely spaced clusters of doghair), (h) mawhiti, (spaced tufts of doghair).

SEAM RECONSTRUCTION

Experiments to replicate the seam of the hurukuri in Taranaki were made using cotton fabric with embroidery thread. The reconstruction was achieved by folding in the edges of two pieces of fabric, placing them together and joining with a double running stitch. This consisted of a first row using a single running stitch, then doubling back a second row through the same holes, to fill in the spaces. This makes a very strong seam. It is not yet clear how Maori achieved this with bone tools through four layers of dogskin, but further trials suggest that the seam may have been made by two people, using two needles concurrently, in opposing directions. This would allow the thonging strips to be pulled tightly against each other, rather like lacing up a shoe.

Reconstruction of the hurukuri seam enabled the seam of the Te Kuiti sealskin remnant to be identified. During experiments, it was noticed that if the seam was undone, the fabric was left with a row of parallel holes along the edge. This was exactly what had been observed on the sealskin, although its stitches had been much smaller and closer. Further re-examination of the sealskin revealed signs that the skin had been folded in between the stitching holes, further proving that it had been sewn with the same type of seam.

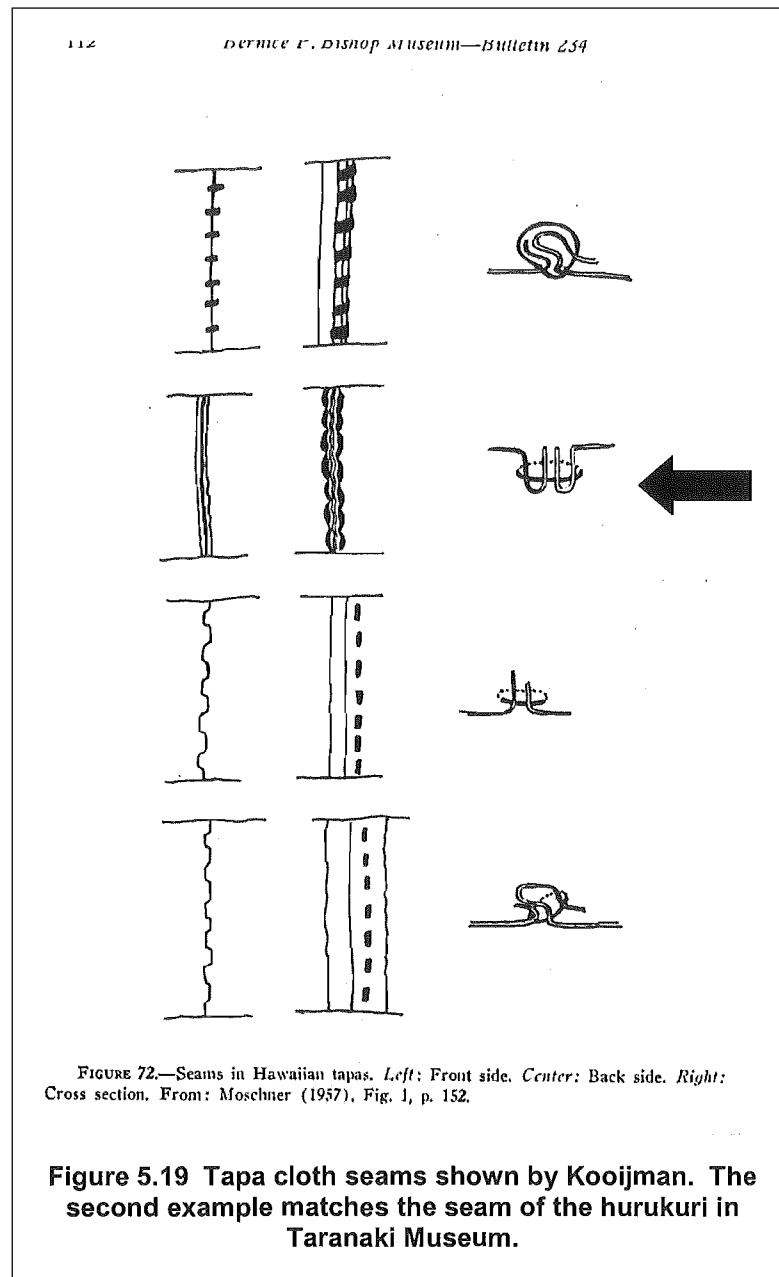
To date there is no Maori name known for this seam, although the word 'kotui' probably best expresses the sense of 'lacing up' that this experiment has achieved. The seam is included in the International Standards Organisation listings:

I.S.O 4915:1991, 205, two lines of stitching on one row, through the same holes.

However, this description does not include the folded edges which make up the total of four layers of textile.

This seam is not widely used. To date, the only other example located that replicates the folded textile is shown by Kooijman in his work on *Tapa in Polynesia*,⁸⁰ where it was used in Hawai'i for sewing layers of tapa cloth for *kapa moe* (Figure 5.19). This fact raises the question of whether Maori and Hawai'ians brought existing knowledge with them, or whether they each developed it independently.

⁸⁰ S. Kooijman, 1972. *Tapa in Polynesia*, B.P.Bishop Museum Bulletin 234.



SECTION C: Eighteenth and nineteenth century documentary evidence

Although Maori use of bird and dog skins as material sources of dress was already well established in the seventeenth century, the European evidence of 1642 indicates that the Dutch did not observe skin garments at Golden Bay. The earliest documentary evidence of skin garments comes from members of Cook's first expedition in 1769. This re-examination begins by looking at the variety of skins that were seen and noting the absence of sealskin. It finds that although British and French members of exploration parties in the late eighteenth century

documented a number of observations of garments, descriptions of dress tend to be general rather than specific. This impedes attempts to clarify the classification of cloaks. To help counteract this problem, this section incorporates the categories of woven clothing devised by Monkhouse, and follows this with descriptions of the Maori dog. While documentary evidence gives some support to the diversity of dogskin cloaks, there appear to be fewer feathered cloaks in comparison with the frequency of their occurrence in traditional evidence. Initially, this suggests that the overall variety of skin cloaks may have diminished. However, a re-examination of documentary evidence highlights possible changes in technology. Stylistic changes are suggested by the transverse application of overlaid fur strips, which are not previously seen, and aesthetic changes are suggested by the introduction of patterns that appear to have no traditional generic name. These details further indicate gaps in our existing knowledge. Where eighteenth century documentary evidence is most useful is in its detail of who wears skin garments, indicating their importance in Maori society, and in recording Maori reaction to European interest in these items.

VARIETIES OF SKIN USED

Traditional and material evidence established the varieties of skin that were used as elements of dress as bird, dog and sealskins. Cook's record of the varieties of skins that the British saw in use, reveals that a significant change had taken place. The documentary evidence is quite clear that there were no observations of Maori wearing any skins other than those of birds or dogs. Cook stated:

Altho' we have seen some few Seals and once a Sea Lyon upon this coast yet I believe that they are not only very scarce but seldom or ever come a shore, for if they did the natives would certainly find out some method of Killing them the Skins of which they no doubt would preserve for Clothing as well as the skins of Dogs and birds the only skins we ever saw among them.⁸¹

He also noted:

...these seals differ from those we have in Europe in some particulars, especially in their skins, which is much finer, resembling much the skin of an Otter.⁸²

The comments of Banks were almost identical to Cook's initial observation:

Of seals,... we have seen a few, and one sea-lion: but these were in the sea, and are certainly very scarce, as there were no signs of them among the natives⁸³ ... whose chief luxury in dress consists in the skins and hair of dogs and the skins of divers birds, and who wear for ornaments the bones and beaks of birds and teeth of dogs, would probably have made use of some part of any other animal they were acquainted with....⁸⁴

⁸¹ Beaglehole, Vol. 1, p. 277.

⁸² Beaglehole, Vol 2, fn.p. 135

⁸³ '...except a few teeth of the latter, which they make into a kind of bodkin and value much....'

⁸⁴ Hooker, (ed.), p. 225.

On the second voyage, Forster also observed the limited skin resources available. When he commented on the abundant food supply for carnivorous animals, he suggested that Maori would certainly have utilised furs of any available feline species, as a valuable article of dress, 'for want of which they now wear the skins of dogs and of birds.'⁸⁵

This information is significant because it indicates that a major change occurred during Maori settlement: the kahu kekeno of oral tradition was no longer evident. The absence of sealskin in the late eighteenth century shows that something drastic happened to the seal population. This will have severely affected Maori society of the time, representing as it did the loss of both a potential food and clothing source.⁸⁶

Although kahu kekeno may have become status garments⁸⁷ and never commonly worn, material evidence has shown that their use incorporated a range of well developed skills. To date it has not proved possible to link these skills to wider Polynesian practice. This expertise must have taken some time to develop, but seems to have been quite rapidly erased from memory as there appear to be no allusions to the garments in waiata or other than general stories. The combination of evidence suggests that seals were abundant in early Maori history, but suffered a massive decline in numbers perhaps a hundred years or so before Cook's arrival. The rapid loss of sealskin knowledge is paralleled by the nineteenth century loss of technical skills in preparing dogskins. Dogskin cloaks were observed in use and presumably were still being made at the beginning of the century, but by the end of it, European ethnologists were unable to gain clear information on preparation and manufacturing procedures.

VARIETIES OF DRESS ITEMS

General descriptions from both British and French journals support traditional evidence of feathered cloaks, feathered and birdskin maro, as well as dogskin

⁸⁵ Forster, Vol. 1, p.155.

⁸⁶ For extensive archaeological analysis of sea mammal hunting, see Ian Smith, 1985. 'Sea Mammal Hunting and Prehistoric Subsistence in New Zealand' PhD thesis Anthropology Department, University of Otago. Also, Ian Smith, 1985. 'Māori impact on the Marine Megafauna : Pre European Distributions of New Zealand Sea Mammals' in Douglas Sutton (ed.), 'Saying Doesn't Make It So', New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 17, pp. 76-108.

⁸⁷ That the Auckland Museum specimen was found with the mummified body of a woman suggests an element of status, the bodies of people of no status would not have received preservation treatment.

cloaks and maro. They also noted feathered and fur ear ornaments.⁸⁸ On the first voyage, Banks recorded seeing feathered cloaks:

Some there were who had their dresses ornamented with feathers, and one who had an entire dress of the red feathers of parrots; but these were not common.⁸⁹

On board *St Jean Baptiste*, also in 1769, Labé recorded the use of birdskins: '... some have the skin of a bird to cover their nudity, without passing underneath....'⁹⁰ He alluded to birdskins again, when he observed women 'drawing aside the bird skin which covers their nakedness....'⁹¹ A few years later, at Queen Charlotte Sound, Forster registered the purchase of a feathered maro from a group of visiting Maori, but did not record that he had seen it being worn.⁹²

From the comment of Banks it is apparent that feathered cloaks were not in common use, and garments completely covered with feathers were even more rare. The frontal apron described by Labé is clearly a birdskin maro, but it does not appear to have been recorded elsewhere. Labé is not specific in attributing the use of such maro to women only, nor does he identify the type of birds.⁹³ The maro purchased by Forster was woven, with feathers incorporated, and is discussed further below.

De Surville noted two distinct styles of fur garment. He wrote:

they eat dogs, which they raise for that purpose, and from whose skin they make furs.⁹⁴ ... They have dog skins for cloaks and another fur garment of the same animal, caught at the waist by a wide plaited belt.⁹⁵

Labé confirmed the diversity of garments:

They have dogskins to cover themselves with and some sort of loincloth.⁹⁶ Their dress consists in some loincloths which they put about their waists. Some have dog skins sewn together

⁸⁸ Parkinson alone recorded one further ornament: 'They also wore a kind of shoulder-knot, made of the skin of the neck of a large sea-fowl, with the feathers on, split in two length-ways.' Parkinson, Sydney, *Journal of a Voyage to the South Seas in HMS Endeavor*, p. 90. To date, this ornament has proved beyond the scope of this research.

⁸⁹ Hooker, pp. 233-4.

⁹⁰ '...quelques pannes ... des peaux de Chins [sic] cousues l'une contre l'autreune peau d'oyseau' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, pp. 66-7.

⁹¹ Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, p. 73.

⁹² Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 218-9.

⁹³ The French later record cloaks made by sewing kiwi skins together. Sharp, (ed.) 1971, *Duperrey's visit to New Zealand in 1824*. Alexander Turnbull Library, Wellington, p. 83.

⁹⁴ De Surville in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, p. 38.

⁹⁵ '... des peau de Chien en Manteau et une autre pelisse du Meme animal...' De Surville, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, p. 41. Translator Hingley notes that 'pelisse' was the term for an outer garment lined or trimmed with fur, usually covering from shoulder to knee; in this case, although de Surville used the same term 'pelisse' he indicated that it was worn in a different way and therefore not necessarily a 'cloak'.

⁹⁶ '... des peaux de Chien a se couvrir et des Especies de panne....' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, pp. 62-3.

On Cook's third voyage, Anderson also noted similar details: garments that were entirely covered with dogskin and others that were dogskin alone.⁹⁷

Dogskin cloaks were an important part of Maori dress, and will also be discussed more fully below. However, waist garments are more difficult to identify clearly. De Surville's description does not clarify whether the waist garments he saw were maro or some other form of loincloth or kilt, but his choice of the word 'pelisse' suggests a moderately sized article held in place by a raranga belt. Labé differentiated between the loincloths and the stitched dogskin, but his descriptions are unclear as to whether the loincloths were also of dogskin.

The wearing of feathered skin pieces and fur as ear adornment was also recorded. Feather ear ornaments called puhoi, made of toroa or albatross down were frequently seen. Forster recorded those of the family at Dusky Sound: 'in their ears they wore small pieces of white albatross skins stained with ruddle.'⁹⁸ In comparison, the usage of dogskin for ear ornamentation was not widely described. Le Dez noted that it was used to adorn weapons, 'their ears', and to make fringing.⁹⁹ This was corroborated by Labé's statement, 'Others have in their ears pieces of dogskin.'¹⁰⁰ The few references suggest that dogskin ear ornaments were not in common use.

METHODS OF MANUFACTURE – MONKHOUSE'S CLASSIFICATION

On the first voyage, Monkhouse grouped the woven garments that he observed into three distinct categories, which he based on his perception of the methods of manufacture.¹⁰¹ This is useful because although he did not generate a specific class for skin garments, his categories are essential in understanding his subsequent descriptions and in placing apparel with dogskin attachments in perspective. Broadly speaking, the categories were:

Firstly, 'ahou'¹⁰² made from groups of 'untwined' or un-plied whenu or warp fibres with cut ends, that were held in place by plied whatu or weft yarns, spaced in rows

⁹⁷ Anderson, in Beaglehole, 1967, p. 809.

⁹⁸ Forster, Vol. 1, pp.138-9.

⁹⁹ Le Dez, in *Extracts from.... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 317.

¹⁰⁰ '...quelques pannes ... des peaux de Chins [sic] cousues l'une contre l'autreune peau d'oyseau' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, pp. 66-7.

¹⁰¹ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 572.

¹⁰² Beaglehole interprets this as the Tahitian word *ahu*, meaning 'cloak'. (Vol. 1, p. 572.) However, the word is used repeatedly by Maori over the years of Cook's voyages.

about a centimetre apart.¹⁰³ Some had widely spaced, narrow stripes of black whenu, some had taniko borders at the hem, others were very fine and silky.¹⁰⁴

Secondly, 'ahou' of closely woven cloth with 'twined' or plied yarns.¹⁰⁵ Although Monkhouse defines this as a category, he states that he saw only two of these.

Thirdly, 'ahou' with layers of overlapping plant material, which resembled 'thrum mats' in the eyes of Cook's seamen.¹⁰⁶

Monkhouse amplified his description as follows: 'Some of these last and of the 2nd Sort of Ahous were lined at the lower corners with a bit of dogs skin with the hair on.'¹⁰⁷ It must be emphasised that although Monkhouse recognised the value of dogskin to Maori, he made no categories for either furred or feathered garments. This may indicate the infrequency of such garments, or some singularity of their style may have precluded their being grouped into categories. There is no indication that Monkhouse used any type of formula to establish how many times he should see a particular type of garment before making a new classification.

FEATHERED GARMENTS

While no material evidence remains, documentary evidence supports the traditional evidence of feathered maro. As previously stated, Labé recorded his observation of women wearing birdskin maro.¹⁰⁸ Although his description seemed clear that he was referring to entire skins, he did not suggest that they had been sewn in any way. In 1773, Forster had purchased a feathered maro from a group of Maori visiting Queen Charlotte Sound. He described it precisely:

They sold us an apron made of their close-wrought cloth, covered with red feathers, faced with white dog-skin, and ornamented with pieces of the ear-shell, which is said to be worn by the women in their dances.¹⁰⁹

Four years later, Anderson reported a very similar garment:

¹⁰³ Monkhouse's description of the first man shot at Poverty Bay, Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 566.

¹⁰⁴ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 572.

¹⁰⁵ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 572.

¹⁰⁶ Monkhouse suggested 'the Cloth Plant coarsely beaten out' or 'a kind of narrow Sedge or course grass'. (Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 572). Beaglehole's footnote comments that if Monkhouse meant 'aute' when referring to 'cloth plant' he must have been mistaken. Possibly Monkhouse saw hoheria, but more probably he was identifying harakeke as the plant of Maori cloth, seeing leaf strips either undressed or in various stages of dressing.

¹⁰⁷ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 573.

¹⁰⁸ '...quelques pannes ... des peaux de Chins [sic] cousues l'une contre l'autreune peau d'oyseau' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, pp 66-7.

¹⁰⁹ Forster, Vol 2, p. 290. Forster refers to 'an Ahoo, an Awirookōōra' of red feathers' which Mead calls 'awetookura'. p. 64-5.

the women ... a few have small triangular aprons adorn'd with parrots feathers and bits of pearl shells, furnish'd with a double or treble set of cords to fasten it about them and cover certain parts.¹¹⁰

Mead has categorised these two descriptions as slightly divergent garments, A3a and A3b, quoting the additional 'Dogskin and hair' as the defining difference.¹¹¹ However, both these maro were reportedly worn by females, covered with feathers and ornamented with shell pieces that were probably paua. It seems likely that they were variations of the same style. Combining the Forster and Anderson accounts allows the development of a fuller picture. It suggests a closely woven, small, triangular maro, with red feathers intertwined. From material evidence of early southern garments, it can be deduced that the white dogskin facing was at the waistline; Anderson's final evidence suggests the garment was fastened around the waist with cords. This type of maro was clearly distinctive, but unfortunately, apart from a suggestion that it was worn by women for dancing, nothing is known about its particular use, nor is any specific name known for it, although Mead has proposed 'Maro kura'.¹¹²

Feathered cloaks were documented on all three of Cook's visits. As previously mentioned, Banks recorded one that was entirely of red feathers.¹¹³ Monkhouse also described this cloak: 'an Ahou ornamented with bird feathers, of the parrot kind as suppos'd; they are mostly red, and breast feathers.'¹¹⁴ At Doubtful Sound, Cook and Johannes Forster were presented with newly woven cloaks of flax that were 'curiously interwoven with parrot's feathers.'¹¹⁵ The young girl of the Maori family presented a similar cloak to Hodges.¹¹⁶ Sparrman indicated the likely size when he commented on the family, 'dressed in their best short cloaks embroidered with feathers.'¹¹⁷ Anderson also recorded feathered cloaks. His description noted: 'Some are entirely covered with the large feathers of birds which seem work'd in when they are made....'¹¹⁸

This documentary evidence supports traditional evidence of feathered maro and cloaks, in particular the red maro of the competing haka parties of Tamanuiaraki

¹¹⁰ Anderson in Beaglehole, Vol. 3, Part 2, p. 810.

¹¹¹ Mead, 1969, pp. 64-5. Mead thought the type described by Forster was probably a regional type peculiar to Queen Charlotte Sound, but Forster said that he bought it from Maori who were visiting the Sound.

¹¹² Mead, 1969, pp. 64-5.

¹¹³ Banks, in Hooker, pp. 233-4.

¹¹⁴ Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, p. 583.

¹¹⁵ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 160-1.

¹¹⁶ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 162.

¹¹⁷ Sparrman, p. 33.

¹¹⁸ Anderson, in Beaglehole, 1967, p. 809.

and Tutekorepunga of Ngai Tahu tradition,¹¹⁹ and the identifying red cloaks of Tuhoe stories. It also shows that a variety of feathers were utilised, although the description of 'parrot' feathers is not helpful. The red feathers are likely to have been small under-wing feathers of kaka. The colour of the Doubtful Sound 'parrot' feathers was not noted; however, Pitt-Rivers Museum records describe the feathers of the cloak from the Forster Collection – now missing – as being from parrot and duck.¹²⁰ The paintings that Hodges developed from his sketches in that region show brown shaggy garments, suggesting brown feathers. The feathers recorded by Anderson were large, but this is insufficient information to allow speculation about their source. That feathered cloaks were not seen frequently suggests that they were not a particularly fashionable garment at this period of time, but their use appears to have been more prevalent in the Southland region.

THE KURI AND DOGSKIN GARMENTS

The source of dogskin for these garments was the kuri that was brought to New Zealand by early Polynesians. None survived the nineteenth century. A number of European voyagers recorded descriptions which are reproduced here because they give useful data about the appearance and proliferation of kuri, thus imparting more information about the kahu and maro kuri.¹²¹

In the north, Le Dez, a member of Marion du Fresne's expedition, made a full description of the dogs he saw:

The dogs are more or less the shape and size of our wolf hounds, with the same straight ears: their paws are large, short and turned out like our basset hounds; their eyes are very small and the head is quite like that of a fox; their hair is the length of a spaniel's but it is finer. I think it can be worked. I have seen only black and white ones. There are a lot of wild ones which ran off when we went near them. The natives breed them and they become as friendly as ours. The particular thing about them is that they do not bark at all.¹²²

At Queen Charlotte Sound, Forster recorded the different colours of dogs he saw:

¹¹⁹ White. Vol 2, Maori Text, p. 37. Vol. 2 AMH, p. 38.

¹²⁰ ¹²⁰ Kaepler, 1978, p. 171, and P. Gathercole, n.d. [1970] *From the Islands of the South Seas 1773-4: An Exhibition of a Collection Made on Capn. Cook's Second Voyage ...* by J.R. Forster. Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum. Pitt Rivers Collection No. 102: recorded as 'a feathered Coat, made of the N.Z. flax, & interwoven with parrots & ducks feathers: this from Dusky Bay' the garment identified as No. 102 does not match the description.

¹²¹ For archaeological literature about kuri, see Jan Allo-Peterson, 1979. 'The Role of the Dog in the Economy of the New Zealand Māori' in Atholl Anderson (ed.), 'Birds of a feather', New Zealand Archaeological Association Monograph 11, BAR International Series 62. Also, Atholl Anderson, 1981. 'Pre-European Hunting Dogs in the South Island, New Zealand', in New Zealand Journal of Archaeology 3, pp.15-20.

¹²² Le Dez, in *Extracts from ... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 317.

A good many dogs were observed in their canoes, which they seemed very fond of, and kept tied with a string, round their middle; they were of different colours, some spotted, some quite black, and others perfectly white.¹²³

Other writers commented on the hair of the kuri. Because of its length, the French initially presumed the skins to be of goat.¹²⁴ When Roux, a colleague of Le Dez, recorded that they found a piece of skin rather like a bearskin¹²⁵ he was reiterating similarities that had been observed earlier by both Cook¹²⁶ and Banks:

When we first saw these dresses we took them for the skins of some bears or animal of that kind, but we were soon undeceived, and found that upon inquiry that they were acquainted with no animal that had fur or long hair but their own dogs.¹²⁷

However, despite seeing dogs, Le Dez, a colleague of Roux, expressed some uncertainty about the source of some pieces of skin they found. He wrote:

We saw no quadrupeds other than dogs and rats. The only indications we have that there might be others are several little pieces of skin with a long, very soft white wool on them. They use it to adorn their weapons, their ears and to make fringes for their coats. The animal they get it from must be either very rare or very difficult to kill, because few people had this sort of ornament.¹²⁸

The evidence that Le Dez thought the pieces of skin with white 'wool' might come from an animal which was scarce or hard to kill, shows that he did not immediately associate the skin with the dogs he had seen. It also shows that the hair of the kuri, finer than spaniel hair, was not immediately recognisable to a European as that of a familiar dog. Cook, Banks and Roux had initially thought the hair was from bearskin, although the former two may have been influenced by the size of the cloak they had seen off Cape Kidnappers, while Roux had access to a piece of skin. The hair of the kuri was clearly unlike that of the average dog known by Europeans and seems to have been finer, longer and perhaps 'woollier'.

The evidence also suggests that in both islands dogs were not rare. Le Dez saw a number running wild, while Forster observed a number in canoes and subsequently recorded the purchase of several dogs by the British.¹²⁹ However, Le Dez had noted that few people used the white hair as a form of adornment. Because canine numbers were not scarce, there must have been other factors governing the use of doghair.

¹²³ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 219.

¹²⁴ 'Mr Surville told me that the skins we took for goatskin are not so, they are the skins of domesticated dogs with long hair.' Labe, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, p. 69.

¹²⁵ Roux, in *Extracts from ... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 135.

¹²⁶ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 177.

¹²⁷ Banks, in Hooker, pp. 233-4.

¹²⁸ Le Dez, in *Extracts from ... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 317.

¹²⁹ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 219. Forster continued: 'The food which these dogs receive is fish, or the same as their masters live on, who afterwards eat their flesh, and employ the fur in various ornaments and dresses. They sold us several of these animals, among which the old ones coming

Documentary evidence supports material evidence in the manufacture of dogskin cloaks. European explorers recorded seeing both stitched skins, and garments with strips of skin. Le Dez recorded the stitched pelts:

The chiefs are distinguished by their cloaks, which are usually dogskins sewn together or a woven cloth quite like our canvas, but this work must be very difficult to do because there are few who wear them. They make fringes with pieces of long-haired skin....¹³⁰

His evidence was corroborated by Anderson, who had noted garments made solely of dogskins on Cook's third voyage.¹³¹

Nevertheless, the most frequently sighted cloaks using skins seem to have been woven ones with overlaid strips of dogskin. Banks recorded:

... but the great pride of their dress seems to consist in dogs' fur, which they use so sparingly that to avoid waste they cut it into long strips, and sew them at a distance from each other upon their cloth, often varying the colours prettily enough. When we first saw these dresses we took them for the skins of some bears or animal of that kind, but we were soon undeceived, and found that upon inquiry that they were acquainted with no animal that had fur or long hair but their own dogs.¹³²

In alluding to the sense of 'pride' that the garments engendered, Banks hints at their value to the owners; his comment on the colours varying 'prettily enough' indicates an element of design, and suggests that he saw different patterns.

Further, in 1771, Crozet recorded:

The chiefs are distinguished from the rest of the people by mantles and loincloths of finer tissue. I noticed that only the chiefs had very nicely worked mantles, with very fine thongs of dogskin adroitly twisted close together, with the colours arranged symmetrically, and having the appearance of consisting of a single skin. They put the hair inside touching their skin when it is cold, and outside when it is warm.¹³³

Crozet noted symmetrical colour arrangement, suggesting that he also saw cloaks of different patterns; in addition he recorded different methods of wearing them.

Du Clesmeur, a member of Marion du Fresne's expedition, commented on the size of the garments: 'The inhabitants of this village are olive complexioned, tall, well built and dress in a large skin cloak.'¹³⁴ He also indicated the texture of the cloaks:

The pelisse worn by chiefs is usually of dogskin¹³⁵ which gives them a great advantage as they use it to parry spear-thrusts.¹³⁶

into our possession, became extremely sulky, and refused to take any sustenance, but some young ones soon accustomed themselves to our provisions.'

¹³⁰ 'manteau ... de peaux de chiens cousues ensemble...' Le Dez, in *Extracts from.... Mascarine and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 321.

¹³¹ Anderson, in *Beaglehole*, p. 809.

¹³² Banks, in *Hooker*, pp. 233-4.

¹³³ Crozet's *Voyage ... 1891*, pp. 38-9.

¹³⁴ Du Clesmeur, in *Extracts from.... Mascarine and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 22.

¹³⁵ 'de Peau de chien,' p. 32.

¹³⁶ Du Clesmeur, in *Extracts from.... Mascarine and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 32.

Not only cloaks were recorded, but also waist garments covered with strips of skin. Crozet identified the use of overlaid dogskin strips on loincloths,¹³⁷ and compared the clothing of chiefs with that of ordinary people.

The clothes worn by the chiefs are loin-cloths – very fine and very beautiful; there are also some decorated with dogskin cut in strips and so well-matched that one would mistake them for complete skins; the clothes of the people of the country are much more ordinary, but they are all used for fending off assagais.¹³⁸

This evidence was corroborated by de Montesson, who also noted that the skin items were worn only in fine weather:

They also have another sort of loincloth on which they sew strips of dogskin with such skill that they could be taken for whole skins, so well are they matched. They have other, more ordinary ones which they wear in cold weather.¹³⁹

Although de Montesson specified the skin cloths were not worn in cold weather,¹⁴⁰ it may be that they were not worn in wet weather, rather than cold, in order to preserve the fur.¹⁴¹

The dogskin loincloths documented in the latter part of the eighteenth century can be seen as the dogskin maro of traditional evidence, but the stories generally tell of white tail hair maro. None of the journalists referred to the colours of the maro they saw. It seems likely that white maro would have made an impression that would have been mentioned, therefore, it is possible the later maro were of other colours. Likewise, there is no reference to striped or patterned maro, suggesting that these designs were restricted to cloaks.

While many references to dogskin cloaks were general, other documentary evidence describes some that are quite specific. Four different garments are introduced here. The first was a black and white striped cloak. Although Monkhouse did not create a category for this type of garment, this was the first dogskin cloak recorded, observed by him on the day of the first British landing at Poverty Bay, shortly after their initial fatal encounter. He noted: 'One man was clad in a skin dress consisting of black and white broad perpendicular strips.'¹⁴² This is the only such example recorded during the *Endeavour's* expedition, but

¹³⁷ The use of the term 'loincloth' presents some difficulties. The French may have used this to describe a maro, but in 1824 Angas draws Maori wearing cloth around their waists, with the end falling in front to mid-thigh length. This item of dress has not been investigated to date, and we have no way of knowing if this was the type of garment the French observed.

¹³⁸ 'de Pagne', Crozet, in *Extracts from.... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 14.

¹³⁹ '... une autre Espece de Paigne Sur les qu'elles ils Cousent Si adroitement des Laise de Peaux de chiens...' de Montesson, in *Extracts from.... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, pp. 244-5.

¹⁴⁰ 'les temps froid', de Montesson, in *Extracts from.... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, p. 244.

¹⁴¹ The issue of fur preservation brings into question the potential techniques that Maori used to prepare dogskins, which topic has not been analysed to date.

Monkhouse gave no further information about the appearance of the owner. This striped style, using alternate dark and white vertical rows of skin strips, is known today as an 'awarua,'¹⁴³ being literally two streams of colour.

Within a week of Monkhouse's first observation, a second variety of cloak was documented, following the Cape Kidnappers incident. The recorded descriptions varied considerably. Cook wrote:

One man in this boat had on him a black skin something like a bear skin which I was desirous of having that I might be a better judge what sort of an Animal the first owner was.¹⁴⁴

Cook's description is retained because it conveys a good impression of the cloak, but Monkhouse described the garment differently: 'An old Man who sat in the Stern had a Skin of an Animal of a brown Colour and bordered with white.'¹⁴⁵ The artist's observation was probably the most reliable; Parkinson's description concurs with that of Monkhouse: 'An old man, who sat in the stern, had on a garment of some beast's skin, with long hair, dark brown, and white border....'¹⁴⁶ Two out of the three records agree on the description of both the cloak and the wearer. This style of dark cloak, with light border along the top and sides, is generally recognised today as a topuni.¹⁴⁷

Monkhouse recorded a third variety of dogskin cloak when two visitors came aboard *Endeavour* at Teegadu Bay. He wrote:

Two old Men who appeared as chiefs were invited on board, and they came without the least hesitation. One dressed in an Ahou of the first sort¹⁴⁸ (1st = Cut mai muka). Ornamented with narrow stripes of white dogs skin, sewed on in transverse rows and a checquered border.¹⁴⁹

This description indicates a technological change. Garments with strips of skin stitched crosswise do not appear in pre-Cook material evidence. This garment is discussed more fully in the section re-examining graphic evidence.

¹⁴² Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 568.

¹⁴³ Mead, 1969, p. 50.

¹⁴⁴ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 177. This incident was immediately followed by the attempted kidnapping of Tiata, Tupaia's Indian servant boy.

¹⁴⁵ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 580.

¹⁴⁶ Parkinson, p. 94.

¹⁴⁷ Mead, 1969, p. 50. Mead employs both the Parkinson and Cook descriptions as the basis of his D2 Toopuni and D3 Ihupuni categories, but they are both reports of the cloak seen immediately preceding the attempted kidnapping incident, and must therefore be varying accounts of the same garment.

¹⁴⁸ The first sort was cut mai muka. Refer p. 175 above.

¹⁴⁹ Monkhouse, in Beaglehole, 1955, p. 583.

At Queen Charlotte Sound, a fourth garment was described by Forster. It was a black dogskin cloak that he saw when *Endeavour* was approached by a large double hulled canoe on 4 June 1773.¹⁵⁰

Two people of a fine stature, one at the stern, and another about the middle of the canoe stood upright, while the rest continued seated. The former had a perfect black cloak of the close-wrought kind, patched in compartments with dog-skin....¹⁵¹

Forster identified the second standing figure as Teiratu, from Teera Whittee. This party from the North Island subsequently came on board *Endeavour*, allowing opportunity for their garments to be seen more closely. Forster's description implies the 'close-wrought' kind of cloak had a woven kaupapa, but the 'compartments' of dogskin with which he said it was 'patched' defy explanation. They suggest pieces rather than strips of skin, and a technique that is unfathomable. The cloak cannot be seen in the picture that Hodges made of the encounter, and it remains an enigma.

A fifth dogskin garment was described by Roux, another member of the 1772 voyage of Marion du Fresne. It was seen during a trading encounter with a group in a waka:

I noticed an old man who had stayed in it. He was covered with a cloak which seemed to me very well made: it was of a cloth, made on a loom, in which animal hairs were interlaced so skilfully that we took it for the skin of a very big animal. From a distance it looked quite like our fur greatcoats. This man had a prouder and more distinguished look about him than the others; the respect paid to him made me think that he was one of their chiefs. I tried to induce him to come on board, but he made some difficulty about it, appearing very desirous of the scarlet jacket I was wearing; he first made sign for me to give it to him in exchange for his cloak. I made him understand that I would give it to him if he came on board. He came on board at once. I kept my word and he seemed to me to be very satisfied....¹⁵²

Once again, the report suggests the dogskin is worn by a chief, but the basic manufacture of this garment is a cloth – so closely covered with hair that it has the appearance of a fur skin. Roux was obviously interested in this item, and had opportunity to examine it closely when the chief came aboard the *Mascarin*. It was certainly unlike cloaks of skins stitched together; and hair that was 'interlaced' is also quite different from woven cloaks with overlaid strips of skin attached. This garment may have been a kahu waero,¹⁵³ made with the tail fur shaven from white-haired dogs. Roux's account does not make it entirely clear whether he acquired this particular cloak.

¹⁵⁰ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 228. This was the encounter on the birthday of the King; painted by Hodges; the waka was about 50 feet long with a crew of 28 men.

¹⁵¹ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 224-5.

¹⁵² 'il étoit d'une Etoffe faite au métier dans laquelle étoient entrelacés de longs poil de bête,' Roux, in *Extracts from... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries, 1772*, pp. 138-9.

¹⁵³ As defined by Hamilton, 1901, p. 286.

DOGSKIN AND FEATHER TRIMMING

In some instances, woven garments were trimmed with pieces of dogskin or feathers. This was recorded by a number of observers. According to Forster, the clothing of the people at Queen Charlotte Sound was 'made in the same manner of the flax-plant' as the feathered clothing he had seen at Doubtful Sound, but, he noted,

...never interwoven with feathers, in lieu of which they had bits of dog-skin at the four corners of their cloaks, which the others were not fortunate enough to possess.¹⁵⁴

Du Clesmeur's description also included fur and feather ornamentation:

The men's dress is a type of pelisse made from a more or less finely woven fabric of screw-pine This attire is sometimes decorated with dog-fur¹⁵⁵ and the feathers of various birds, according to the rank of the wearer.¹⁵⁶

Cook noted the addition of feathers or strips of dogskin to garments with taniko borders:

To one end of every piece is generally work'd a very neat border of different colours of four or six inches broad and they very often trim them with pieces of dog skin or birds feathers.¹⁵⁷

Parkinson recorded garments of which each corner was ornamented with a piece of dogskin.¹⁵⁸ Anderson made similar observations, also noting that men and women dressed in the same way:

The dress of both sexes is alike is often ornamented with pieces of dog skin or checquer'd at the corners.¹⁵⁹

The embellishment of woven garments with small pieces of dogskin, or tufts of feathers, is a factor that does not come through traditional evidence or material evidence prior to Cook. Forster and Du Clesmeur saw this as possibly reflecting the status of the wearer, but these cloaks were obviously not as important as the exclusively skin garments mentioned in tradition.

The European explorers noted that the addition of dogskin strips was seen to add value to a garment. Sparrman recorded that if the cloak was bordered with dogskin, it was reckoned much more valuable.¹⁶⁰ He also recognised that the use of dogskin denoted status: 'As a rule, the apparel of a general is made from dogskin, or is at least bordered with it.'¹⁶¹ Documentary evidence amplifies the traditional evidence about the status of wearers of skin garments. Banks noted

¹⁵⁴ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 213-4.

¹⁵⁵ 'garni de poil de Chien,' p. 32.

¹⁵⁶ Du Clesmeur, in *Extracts from.... Mascarin and Marquis de Castries*, 1772, p. 32.

¹⁵⁷ Beaglehole, Vol. 1, p. 279.

¹⁵⁸ Parkinson, p. 90.

¹⁵⁹ Anderson in Beaglehole, 1967, p. 809.

¹⁶⁰ Sparrman, p. 39.

that war canoes carried two or more chiefs, depending on the size of the canoe, and that their cloaks were carried on board, rather than worn all the time. He recorded:

When within about a cable's length of the ship, they generally rose up, dressed themselves in a distinguishing dress (often of dog's skin), and holding in their hands ... a weapon, directed the rest of the people how to proceed. They were always old or past the middle age, and had upon them a larger quantity of *amoca* than usual.¹⁶²

While in the Bay of Islands, Parkinson also noted that the chiefs wore garments of dogskins when a canoe containing eighty people, most of whom paddled, came into the bay.¹⁶³ The evidence verifies that skin garments were worn by leading men of status, generally tattooed figures, who were senior members of their communities; at the same time, Banks's observation suggests an element of ceremony in the chiefs' robing of themselves.

TRADING

Conflicting evidence about the success of trading exchanges between Europeans and Maori raises some questions about the significance of particular items sought for trade. Initially, Maori were keen traders, and documentary evidence records the lengths to which their enthusiasm extended.¹⁶⁴ At times, some attempted to steal what they could without trading.¹⁶⁵ But on other occasions, there were particular items which Maori were unwilling to trade. Cook documented an example:

There green talk axes that are whole and good they set much value upon and never wold part with them for any thing we could offer. I offer'd one day for one, one of the best axes I had in the Ship besides a number of other things but nothing would induce the owner to part with it....¹⁶⁶

Beaglehole proposed that such an item may have been an heirloom, a ceremonial article, or even tapu. It is feasible that certain dogskin cloaks may have held similar value to Maori; evidence suggests that Maori were reluctant to trade

¹⁶¹ Sparrman, p. 187.

¹⁶² Banks, in Hooker, p. 246.

¹⁶³ Parkinson, p. 110.

¹⁶⁴ Cook noted an instance during which the crew of a waka even traded a number of their paddles, leaving themselves at sea with scarcely enough paddles to return to the shore. Cook, in Beaglehole, 1955, p. 173. Parkinson recorded people who came on board 'and parted very readily with their cloaths, and anything they had about them, for pieces of waste paper and Otaheite cloth, which they put about their heads and ears, and were very proud of their dress.' Parkinson, p. 107. Forster recorded 'A great number of them brought their arms and clothes to sell, and most of them went naked, except a small piece of mat girt about the loins....', Forster, Vol. 2, p. 472.

¹⁶⁵ Parkinson noted: 'These, as well as the rest, were very ready to snatch any thing they could lay their hands on; and, watching an opportunity, they stole a pair of sheets that were tied by a line at the ship's stern' and when they got away, 'held up their paddles, and seemed to defy us.' Parkinson, p. 101.

¹⁶⁶ Cook in Beaglehole, 1955, pp. 284-5.

particular types of cloak. An analysis of the known cloaks collected on Cook's voyages shows that from a total of 41 cloaks, only three were overlaid with strips of skin, while a further fourteen had small amounts of skin, but no stitched pelt cloaks were acquired. (Refer Appendix C).

Cook's first attempt to secure a dogskin cloak was unsuccessful. The dark cloak with light border that was seen at Cape Kidnappers not only showed the British one of the traditional styles of dogskin cloak, but also gave an insight into the value of such garments to Maori at this time. The *Endeavour* crew were trading for fish when another waka came alongside. Cook observed that its crew appeared to have no produce to trade, but expressed his interest in the dark skin cloak of one of its members. The owner removed his cloak as if intending to trade; an old black coat was offered him for it, but the man, observing a piece of red baize, called out for that. Cook recorded:

I offer'd him for it a piece of Red Cloth which he seem'd to jump at by emmediatly putting of the Skin and hold it up to us, but would not part with it untill he had the Cloth in his possession....¹⁶⁷

Cook had the red cloth passed down, whereupon it was taken, but the old man did not complete his part of the exchange and the waka was instantly paddled away. However, it returned soon afterwards with the other waka, and its crew audaciously seized Tiata, the servant boy of Tupia, who was within their reach. It is apparent that although pretending to be prepared to trade, the owner of the cloak never intended to part with it.

A further incident makes this reluctance to trade more explicit. Parkinson documented a second unsuccessful attempt to acquire a dogskin cloak when *Endeavour* was visited in November. He wrote:

In one of the canoes there was a very handsome young man, of whom I bought some things: he seemed, by the variety of his garments, which he sold one after another till he had but one left, to be a person of distinction amongst them; his last garment was an upper one, made of black and white dog-skin, which one of the lieutenants would have purchased, and offered him a large piece of cloth for it, which he swung down the stern by a rope into the canoe; but, as soon as the young man had taken it, his companions paddled away as fast as possible, shouting, and brandishing their weapons as if they had made a great prize; and being ignorant of the power of our weapons, thought to have carried it off securely: but a musket was fired at them from the stern of the ship: the young man fell down immediately, and, it is probable, was mortally wounded, as we did not see him rise again....¹⁶⁸

¹⁶⁷ Beaglehole, 1955. Vol. 1, p. 177.

¹⁶⁸ Parkinson, p. 104. Parkinson said they learned that the name of this young man was Otirreeoðnooe.

The owner had been prepared to trade all his garments excepting the dogskin one. Parkinson's evidence strengthens a hypothesis that Maori were averse to trading dogskin cloaks.

A third encounter occurred during the same period, between the French and Maori at Doubtless Bay, where two writers recorded quite different versions of an incident involving the exchange of clothing. De l'Horme noted that, after trading fish with the French on 16 December, the local chief came aboard *St Jean Baptiste* where he was presented with a red jacket and breeches, and a shirt.¹⁷⁰ According to Labé, the chief 'immediately gave the captain a cloak made of dogskin in exchange,'¹⁷¹ which garment de l'Horme describes as a 'dog-skin tunic' from shoulder to mid-calf. This instance suggests a reciprocal gifting of clothing. However, Labé dates this event as occurring on 19 December, three days later than de l'Horme's initial account, on which date de l'Horme seems to recount an entirely different incident.

In the account of de l'Horme, the chief came aboard on 19 December having previously indicated his wish to do so when the French had filled their water barrels. He remained on board when their ship put out to sea, whereupon the Maori who were ashore set up a cry of distress. The boat was stopped while the chief decided on his action. De l'Horme continues:

...He remained sometime contemplating and uncertain, but finally making up his mind, he took of his dogskin cloak, gave it to Mr de Surville, and had himself put back on shore, indicating that he would come back to the ship tomorrow morning.¹⁷²

De l'Horme's description, with its later date, introduces a new perspective on this interaction between French and Maori. The chief's action can be interpreted in different ways. Salmond has suggested that the chief was placing Surville under his protection by this gesture, but fails to explain, protection from whom.¹⁷³ The French were in no doubt that the chief planned to return the next day and he may simply have been re-affirming this, or perhaps showing his intention to 'hold' the ship. However, the 'contemplating and uncertain' manner that de l'Horme records suggests there was more to this action. Because the identity of an individual was manifest through his personal items, the act suggests that in leaving his cloak, the chief was symbolically leaving part of himself on board the French ship. Bearing in mind traditional evidence of gifting items that epitomised chiefly mana, such as

¹⁷⁰ De l'Horme, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, pp.102-3.

¹⁷¹ 'une Mante faite de Peaux de Chien' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, pp. 70-1.

¹⁷² De l'Horme, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste*, 1769, p.106.

¹⁷³ Salmond, Anne, 1991. *Two Worlds : First Meetings Between Maori and Europeans 1642-1772*. Viking, Penguin Books, Auckland, p. 327.

the exchange between Turi and his father-in-law of a dogskin cloak for the Arawa canoe, and that of Papaka and his waero earring for territorial gain, this encounter could have another interpretation. Because this incident occurred in the earliest period of European contact, Maori had no reason to expect that visitors would not understand the usual obligations inherent in receiving such a valuable gift. Rather than reciprocating yet again the earlier gift of de Surville, the gesture might have inferred that the chief was not only reserving his right to re-board and perhaps reclaim the cloak, but was possibly intending to make further claim, to the vessel itself. The exchange of a cloak for a waka was documented as late as the nineteenth century, between Te Waaka Perohuka, of Rongowhakata and Te Waaka Tarakau, of Ngati-Matawhaiti; the garment named Karamaene was exchanged for the unadorned waka, Te Toki-a-Tapiri, built shortly after 1840, and housed since 1885 in the Auckland Museum.¹⁷⁵ The French journals do not indicate whether the chief recovered his cloak, but de Surville noted that the chief appeared to welcome him with less enthusiasm on successive days.¹⁷⁶ This suggests some possible discontent on the part of the chief that events had not proceeded as he might have expected.

However, there is some evidence to suggest that the French expeditions acquired further dogskin garments. Labé's journal suggests that more dogskin cloaks may have been traded, because de Surville gave him a one amongst some other items. Had the French acquired only one dogskin cloak, it seems probable that the Captain might retain it. Later, listing other acquisitions, Labé writes that he has 'dogskins that they cover themselves with'.¹⁷⁷ His description is unclear whether these are cloaks or other garments. An additional dogskin garment came into French possession through the abduction of Ranginui, the chief whom de Surville took as a captive. Labé's choice of wording may be significant: 'His clothes consist of a type of dogskin cloak which covers his body.'¹⁷⁸ Labé's use of the word 'Espèce' could suggest that this garment was somehow different to that presented earlier to de Surville. However, it is not known how much skin was attached to these garments, whether they were completely covered with skin or merely ornamented.

¹⁷⁵ Mitchell, J. H., 1944, 1972. *Takitimu*. Reed, Wellington, p. 205.

¹⁷⁶ De l'Horme, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, p. 20.

¹⁷⁷ 'des paux de Chien aves quoy ils se Couvrent.' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, pp. 76-7.

¹⁷⁸ 'son Vêtement Consiste dans une Espèce de Mante de Peaux de Chien qui lui Couvre le Corps,' Labé, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, p. 84.

NINETEENTH CENTURY EVIDENCE

The evidence of British travellers who visited New Zealand early in the nineteenth century shows variations of similar data to that of the previous century. When John Savage visited the Bay of Islands in September 1805, he recorded details about the Maori dog.¹⁷⁹ However, despite several descriptions of clothing that included closely woven war cloaks, Savage never alluded to items of dogskin, and presumably did not see any. This suggests that their use may have declined in the areas around the Bay of Islands, which were subject to the increasing attentions of European vessels.

Nine years later in 1814, Nicholas arrived in the Bay of Islands. He documented evidence of the continuing importance and variety of dogskin garments in Northland during his overland journey to Whangaroa.¹⁸⁰ When his party met chiefs George and Tippouie with about one hundred and fifty warriors, Nicholas described the clothing of the assembled Maori:

The general effect of their appearance was heightened by the variety of their dresses, which often consisted of many articles that were peculiarly becoming. The chiefs, to distinguish them from the common men, wore cloaks of different coloured furs, which were attached to their mats, and hung down over them in a manner not unlike the loose jackets of our hussars. The dress of the common warriors only wanted the fur cloaks to make it equally rich with that of their superiors, for it was in every other respect the same, and sometimes even more showy.¹⁸¹

Nicholas was very specific about the status of those wearing skin garments, about why and how they were worn. He reiterated some of this information when he described the variety of dog-skin cloaks at a subsequent gathering:

The chiefs on this occasion were principally distinguished from the inferior warriors, by their dog-skin dresses; the different coloured furs presenting an uncommonly curious appearance, from the strange devices they had conceived, in joining them together; some of them being cut in square patches, as white as snow, and others extending in long mottled streaks, while intermingled with these, were several spots all differing from each other in shape, colour and size; and in these garments there was evidently more regard paid to gaudy show than to taste or uniformity.¹⁸²

Nicholas's observations indicate that away from areas of European influence, traditional dogskin cloaks were still important to Maori. In his eyes, the divergence of colour and its use made these cloaks appear 'grotesque'. He likened them to a panther's skin; but he concluded that on this occasion, he had observed a greater display of dress and 'gorgeous decoration' amongst the largest gathering of

¹⁷⁹ 'As far as I could learn, they have no larger animal than the dog, which is a native here, usually black and white, with sharp, pricked up ears, the hair rather long, and in figure a good deal resembling the animal we call a fox-dog – the native name for which is Coraddee.' Savage, p. 10.

¹⁸⁰ He accompanied missionaries Marsden, Kendall, and Hall, with Ruatera and Hongi to enquire about the *Boyd* incident that took place in 1809.

¹⁸¹ Nicholas, 1817. Vol. 1, pp. 130-1.

¹⁸² Nicholas, Vol. 2, p. 107.

warriors than he had yet seen.¹⁸³ There are no known names for these garments of different designs, of patches, streaks or spots.

Nicholas's description is useful because it not only shows the ongoing importance of dogskin cloaks as status indicators in this period, it also indicates their variety. Furthermore, it demonstrates continuing experimentation with colour arrangement in the attire of Maori leaders of the day. This is significant because it betokens a lively cultural interest in evolving fashion and style. His description is less helpful in indicating how these effects were achieved technologically. In describing cloaks with square patches joined together, Nicholas seems to be suggesting some form of stitched patchwork. If this interpretation is correct, this is a technique not previously identified.¹⁸⁴ Conversely, cloaks with long mottled streaks suggest they were produced by the overlaid technique; however, the description is unclear as to whether the 'spots' were on these mottled cloaks, or whether cloaks with spots comprised another category that Nicholas observed. However, as with previous explorers, Nicholas gives no indication that he was aware of any particular cultural significance of these garments in terms of their potential application as extensions of personal mana.

Marsden also documented evidence of a dogskin garment. Although members of Cook's expeditions had stated that they saw no women wearing fine clothing, Marsden's evidence supports traditional evidence of women owning dogskin. While on another overland journey, en route from Mokoia Pa to the Bay of Islands in 1820, Marsden recorded his visit to Moodeepanga [Murupenga] where he was received by the awaiting chief and his family. Marsden recorded that the head wife was wearing her dogskin garment, while the children were all dressed and their heads ornamented with feathers.¹⁸⁵

The same year, the Russian expedition of Bellingshausen visited Queen Charlotte Sound. They recorded no dogskin cloaks. Only birdskin usage was noted as part of dress, in the form of the white downy puhoi.¹⁸⁶ However, one feathered cloak was collected,¹⁸⁷ and the Russians observed birdskin drying in a village: '... hanging ... were the skin of an albatross stretched over a hoop and some black

¹⁸³ Nicholas, Vol. 2, pp. 107-108.

¹⁸⁴ Refer Mead, 1969, pp. 45-50.

¹⁸⁵ S. Marsden, in *Great Journeys in old New Zealand: Travel & exploration in a new land*, compiled by Gordan Ell and Sarah Ell, 1995. The Bush Press, Auckland, p. 15.

¹⁸⁶ Barratt, pp. 41-42.

¹⁸⁷ St Peterburg Museum, 1821, No. 736-130.

and white feathers tied as plumes."¹⁸⁸ Bellingshausen assumed that these items might be used at councils of war, but the skin was probably drying in preparation for use as puhoi.

In addition, Bellingshausen recorded the use of sealskin:

It is probable that on occasion fur-seals come to rest on the coastal rocks of New Zealand, for I purchased from the New Zealanders jersey-like clothing made from the skins of that animal.¹⁸⁹

Unfortunately there is no further description, and this garment is now missing.¹⁹⁰

However, sealing gangs began working at Dusky Sound in 1792. The total absence of evidence of sealskin garments from the time of Cook indicates that Maori had ceased utilising this source of skins many decades before 1769. This suggests that the garment traded by Bellingshausen in 1820 may have reflected the influence of European sealers.

Dogskin cloaks were the major form of skin use observed at the time of Cook's arrival in New Zealand and recognised by Europeans as the Maori's most prestigious garment. That many designs were specifically named indicates their value in Maori society. However, the striped cloak design now known as 'awarua' does not appear in any of the old stories. The first description of this style is that recorded in 1769 by Monkhouse. There is no specific name known for the chequered cloak attributed to Parkinson. This suggests that these were newer styles, and support the argument that clothing styles were continuing to evolve within traditional society.

Accumulated material evidence in Cook collections around the world reveals that the British were not particularly successful in acquiring prestigious dogskin garments. The two incidents described earlier demonstrate that Maori deliberately chose not to trade these particular cloaks. This suggests that perhaps at the time of initial contact, Maori value systems could not accept such cloaks as appropriate items of barter. The cultural significance of dogskin garments can thus be seen as the major factor in Maori refusal to part with them. However, while the predominance of dogskin over birdskin was confirmed by French observations during the late eighteenth century, they still recorded a variety of items of dress or ornament, namely kahu, maro, puhoi and fringing, which utilised resources of both types.

¹⁸⁸Barratt, p. 36.

¹⁸⁹Barratt, p. 45.

By the early nineteenth century, furred or feathered maro were no longer recorded, although the prestige of dogskin cloaks continued at least until 1814, when Nicholas made his observations. However, Nicholas showed that despite a limited range of textile sources, creativity and innovation continued to flourish in the development of cloaks with different designs, within a framework that maintained traditional values and concepts of status as part of existing cultural practice. There are no names known for the 'patchwork' varieties, nor the spotted or mottled cloaks that he described. It seems that these garments indicate innovative techniques of colour management pointing to the continuing evolution of style in pre- or minimal-contact society, and may have been still too new to have received names.

Late nineteenth and early twentieth century evidence affirms that furred and feathered garments featured in Maori history, and that such cloaks and other objects of adornment were not only used as articles of dress, but also as items of personal agency that were extensions of individual power. However, some previous identifications of Parkinson images have been challenged. This highlights the risk of assuming the familiar to be fact. The interpretations of earlier ethnologists, who tended to fit evidence into the framework that they created, need to be continually re-examined in greater depth, in the light of developing technology and multidisciplinary analyses.

SECTION D: Graphic evidence

Although members of Cook's expeditions continued to observe numbers of dogskin cloaks,¹⁹¹ few descriptions of the styles of garments were recorded. Numerous drawings of Maori were made during the October 1769 to March 1770 expedition, but despite European recognition that dogskin garments were highly prestigious items amongst Maori there is very little contemporary graphic evidence illustrating them. From the second and third Cook voyages, there is only one shaggy feathered cape from Doubtful Sound by Hodges, and no images of dogskin cloaks by Hodges or Webber. An analysis of the first voyage images reveals some are problematic in that they are second generation interpretations. Although they have been widely accepted 'verbatim,' they require verification before they can be taken as legitimate interpretations of traditional Maori dress. Even with some validation, they suggest an unfamiliar style of dogskin cloak that

¹⁹⁰ Barratt, p. 104.

¹⁹¹ Beaglehole, Vol. I, pp. 177, 186, 212-3, 539, 575, 583; Vol. III, pp 809-810.

needs further explanation. An investigation of other images exposes the pitfalls of previous assumptions that were based on familiarity of prior knowledge, without adequate analysis. The re-examination of early European graphic evidence reveals new information on the wearing of dogskin cloaks, and clarifies presuppositions of earlier studies.

COMPLICATIONS OF GRAPHIC EVIDENCE

The lack of graphic evidence from Cook's first voyage pertaining to skin garments is an enigma. Given the contemporary journal evidence acknowledging the importance of dogskin cloaks to Maori, the absence of any field drawings presents something of an anomaly. This is emphasised by the numbers of sketches Parkinson made of plainer garments.¹⁹² It is known that at least one Parkinson sketch – that of the warrior in his chequered cloak – has been lost. It seems probable that other Parkinson sketches of Maori wearing dogskin cloaks may also be lost, although whether on board *Endeavour*, or subsequent to the process of preparation for reproduction in England, or both, cannot be determined.

Parkinson's elder brother, Stanfield, experienced some difficulty in obtaining any personal effects of his brother Sydney; only after dispute with Banks did he obtain his brother's sea-chest which he maintained was partially empty. Parkinson had shown his keen interest in indigenous people by the numerous pencil sketches, and pen and ink wash images that have survived.¹ The lack of graphic evidence pertaining to skin garments supports a theory of missing images.

Of all Cook's artists, Parkinson made the greatest attempt to record the clothing of indigenous New Zealanders. Unfortunately, his materials for these works were limited to pencil, pen and wash; his use of water-colour paint was restricted to the natural history studies required for his employer, Joseph Banks.¹⁹³ Nonetheless, Parkinson evidently recorded some dogskin cloaks; these included a horizontally laid fur garment, and a black and white chequered cloak.

¹⁹² A similar phenomenon was noted by Beaglehole in relation to the lack of field drawings of Australasian land birds. He pointed out that although the journals of both Parkinson and Banks record the collection of many bird species, and colour details noted, yet there is only one sketch of a land bird, the Banksian Cockatoo. Beaglehole suggested that a folio of sketches of birds was mislaid on the voyage following the deaths of both Parkinson and Spöring in close proximity, and potential confusion over personal belongings at a time when many of the crew on board the *Endeavour* were sick. J.C. Beaglehole, (ed.) 1962. *The Endeavour Journal of Joseph Banks 1768-1771*, Vol. 1. The Trustees of the Public Library of New South Wales in Association with Angus and Robertson, Sydney, p. 416, fn.

¹⁹³ Smith, 1992, p. 63.

The two images of Maori wearing dogskin cloaks that are attributed to Parkinson are problematic. Both are engravings after Parkinson, for which empirical studies do not exist. This means that the accuracy of the works cannot be checked, and the images require some alternative validation before they can be relied upon as authentic examples of traditional Maori dress.

THE GODFREY IMAGE AFTER PARKINSON

The first 'Parkinson' image that shows part of a dogskin cloak is an engraving by R. B Godfrey entitled *The manner in which the New Zealand Warriors defy their Enemies*¹⁹⁴ (Figure 5.20). It portrays two male figures from head to mid-chest, displaying expressions of pukana (facial distortions). The figure on the left wears some recognisable ornaments, a rei puta, a dark coloured ear pendant and three feathers in his 'topknot'. The problems of this figure are that the fact that the 'topknot' is a 'bun', which is not an authentic Maori hairstyle, there is a second ear ornament that may or may not be tapa cloth, and a fur cape or cloak with the hair horizontally delineated. The second figure also wears an ear pendant, and a cloak pin with a finely woven garment, but his hairstyle is unclear and his hair ornament unusual, as is the square pendant at his neck. The alien elements cast doubts about the accuracy of the image.



Figure 5.20 *The manner in which the New Zealand Warriors defy their Enemies.*
Engraving by R. B. Godfrey after Parkinson.

¹⁹⁴ Parkinson, 1773, pl XVII (fp.92).

A re-examination of eighteenth century evidence in an attempt to substantiate this image proves inconclusive. The important feature of Godfrey's engraving for this research is the direction and the density of the dog hair of the garment worn by the figure on the left. The facial portrayal has a verifiable source,¹⁹⁵ but none of the preliminary sketched figures that can be linked to this work show any indication of a fur garment. Godfrey's information pertaining to the garment must have been obtained from some other source that is now unknown.

On the basis of the transverse application of fur, the image suggests the garment may be a type documented by Monkhouse in October 1769 at Anauru Bay.

Monkhouse described one of two chiefs who came aboard,

... dressed in an Ahou of the first sort ornamented with narrow stripes of white dogs skin, sewed on in transverse rows, and a checquered border....¹⁹⁶

Monkhouse's description is specific enough to establish a style of dogskin cloak with horizontal rows of white skin and a probable taniko border at the hem, but it gives no indication of how closely the dogskin strips were placed.

MEAD'S ANALYSIS OF GODFREY'S IMAGE AND MONKHOUSE'S RECORD

Two problems arise with Mead's analysis of the Godfrey image and the description recorded by Monkhouse. Mead has suggested from Godfrey's depiction (Figure 5.20) that the cloak with long bushy hair might be an example of his classification D6, kahu waero. He wrote:

[The Kahu waero] ... was made of the long hair from dogs' tails placed so closely together that the flax background fabric could not be seen at all. It could be one of these which Parkinson illustrates in plate xvii of his book. The long and bushy hair on the cloak worn by the man to the left of the picture rather suggests that it might be a kahu waero, although one would not want to be dogmatic about this.¹⁹⁷

However, Mead's conjecture cannot be confirmed. Despite his proposition, Mead offers no evidence that the kahu waero used dogskin pieces or dog hair in a horizontal manner. Neither is it known whether the kahu waero had a taniko border.

¹⁹⁵ Joppein and Smith, Vol 1, p.168. Smith noted two pencil sketches, B.L. London, Add. MS 23920, f.60 (b and d) as being the head studies by Parkinson that were used by Godfrey for his engraving. However, close scrutiny of this engraving suggests that the second figure was taken from sketch (e) rather than (d). This proposition is based on the three-quarter profile of the face, the heavy beard of the figure, and his distinctive head dress. An alternative explanation is that the images were incorrectly identified in printing.

¹⁹⁶ Beaglehole, 1955, Vol. 1, p. 583. Banks records the same occasion but offers less description: '... Dressed in a Jacket ornamented after their fashion with dogs skin....' Beaglehole, 1962. Vol 1, p. 415.

¹⁹⁷ Mead, 1969, p. 47.

Mead further hypothesised the Monkhouse description of the cloak from Anauru Bay as an example of his classification:

D8. Dogskin cloak, whose close woven body is ornamented with widely spaced strips of dogskin, and dominant taaniko border.¹⁹⁸

Again, Mead's premise cannot be confirmed. Monkhouse had described the garment as being 'of the first sort' (refer his classification system, page 175) so it clearly had 'spaced' whenu rather than being 'close woven' as Mead's category stated.

The complications have occurred because Mead maintained there was no confusion in Monkhouse's report of the Anauru dogskin garment.¹⁹⁹ This assertion is disputed as the Monkhouse description is unclear about precise details. It does not specify whether the transverse overlaid 'narrow stripes of white dogskin' completely concealed the kaupapa, or whether they were spaced strips of fur that created a horizontal pattern over the kaupapa. Similarly, Monkhouse's description does not distinguish whether the 'chequered' border consisted of alternately coloured blocks of fur (like Parkinson's chequered cloak) or if it was, in reality, a taniko border. Even the term 'stripes' was ambiguous, as contemporary spelling was inconsistent and the words 'strips' and 'stripes' were frequently interchanged. The Monkhouse description is clearly open to multiple interpretations.

SUPPORTING EVIDENCE FROM ANGAS

Evidence supporting the accuracy of Godfrey's dogskin garment comes from the nineteenth century artist, G.F. Angas. Although outside the period under study, the portrait of Paratene Maioha, (Figure 5.21) which Angas painted at Raglan in 1844, is the only other graphic image which shows a cloak with horizontally applied dogskin strips.

Angas wrote:

I painted Paratene attired in an elegant robe of large size, ornamented with dog's hair: one of those from the southern island, and called by the natives 'e parawai'.²⁰⁰

This portrait shows the largest dogskin cloak of all European images. It clearly depicts the horizontal direction of the fur and a generous flowing line in style. Furthermore, the folds showing the inside of the cloak suggest that the kaupapa is more widely spaced than is customary in cloaks with vertical rows of skin

¹⁹⁸ Mead, 1969, p. 48.

¹⁹⁹ Mead, 1969, p. 48.

attached. This concurs with Monkhouse's description, in being an 'Ahou of the first sort' – that is, with widely spaced wefts.

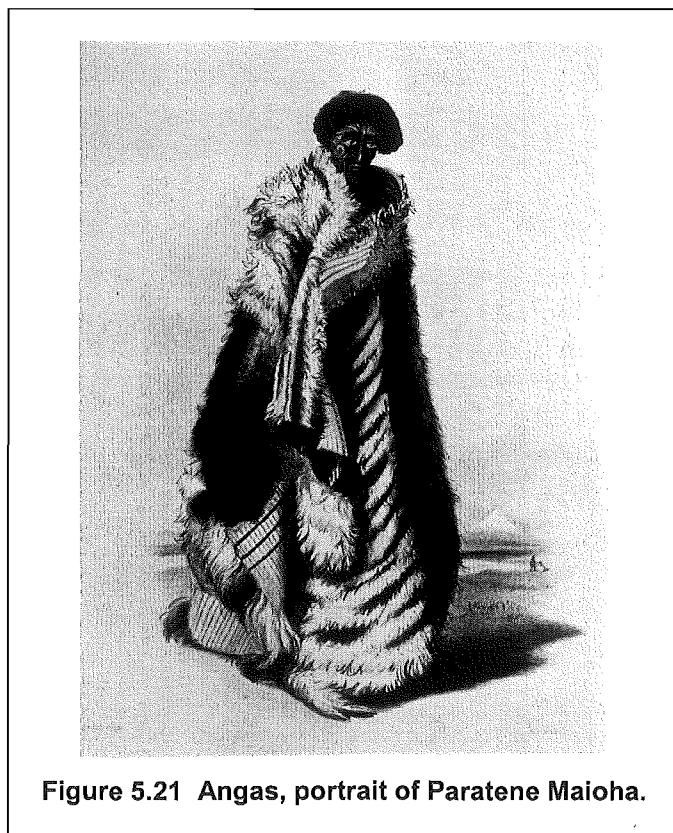


Figure 5.21 Angas, portrait of Paratene Maioha.

The support of the Angas graphic evidence shows that the first dogskin cloak portrayal attributed to Parkinson can be verified in terms of visual presentation. It appears to conform to the documentary evidence recorded by Monkhouse of the cloak seen at Anauru Bay. However, this garment seems to have been an uncommon style and cannot be classified with any certainty.

CHAMBERS'S IMAGE AFTER PARKINSON

The second image attributed to Parkinson is no less complex. Entitled *A New Zealand Warrior in his Proper Dress, & Compleatly Armed, to their Manner*,²⁰¹ it is an engraving by T. Chambers (Figure 5.22). It depicts a male figure wearing a distinctive dogskin cloak of black and white rectangular patches and is widely accepted, being the most universally known image of an eighteenth century Maori.

²⁰⁰ G.F. Angas, (ed.) A.W. Reed, 1979. *Maori Scenes and Portraits*. Reed, Wellington, Plate XXXV TNZI, p. 62-3.

²⁰¹ Parkinson, 1773, pl.XV (fp.88).

Yet the work presents a number of challenges. The cloak Chambers portrayed is unique and therefore the accuracy of his work is critical to the study of Maori dress. The original drawing is lost and no chequered garments are known to exist. Like Godfrey's image, the depiction also suggests the use of fur laid horizontally, which has already been recognised as being uncommon. In addition to the chequered design, the way the cloak is worn shows a particularly unusual flare which is not seen in any other illustration of Maori clothing. All of these challenges must be met in order to accept the image as an accurate portrayal of traditional Maori dress.



Figure 5.22 After Parkinson, A New Zealand Warrior in his Proper Dress, & Compleatly Armed, to their Manner.

EXAMINATION OF CHAMBERS'S WORK

Chambers was engaged to produce four images for the posthumous publication of Parkinson's journal, but the accuracy of his work raises questions. Joppein and Smith noted the engraver's concern with ethnological detail, considering that Chambers had 'worked faithfully to a tradition of scientific publication for the purposes of information'.²⁰² This assertion is challenged. Comparative analyses show that Chambers made a number of changes in his engravings after Parkinson's two original portraits of New Zealand men, changes which are

²⁰² Joppein and Smith, 1985. Vol. 1, pp. 13-15.

significant in ethnological terms. These include alteration to hairstyles, modification of plaited items and entire transformations of garment type (Figure 5.23).

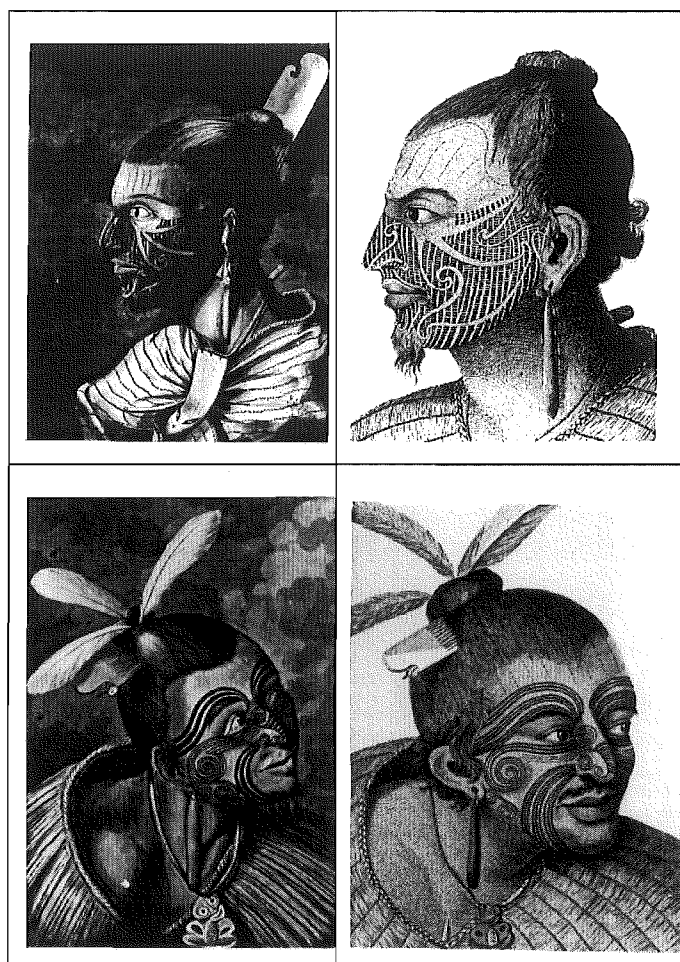


Figure 5.23 Comparisons of Parkinson's originals (left) with Chambers's (right) show changes to hairstyle, cordage and textiles.

Nevertheless, although some elements of Chambers's work are spurious, enough valid evidence exists to substantiate the chequered cloak he portrayed as a genuine garment. The warrior's hair is worn tied up, adorned with three feathers and a heru; he has a kapeu hanging at his left ear, a rei puta and a koauau at his neck. Under his cloak, a large, dark patu is tucked into a belt wrapped around his waist; his right hand holds a wooden ornamented tewhatewha. All of the ornaments and weapons can be authenticated, being similar to documented artefacts traded on Cook's voyages.²⁰⁴

²⁰⁴ The rei puta can be compared with BM Ethno. NZ 159; the kapeu and aurei to Exeter E.1231, Cambridge 1914.51; the nguru to Cambridge 1914.55; the tewhatewha to Stockholm 1848.1.3, the patu to Stockholm 1848.1.2.

The same chequered style of garment was documented on Cook's second voyage. It was observed by Sparrman, who wrote: 'Sometimes the chief's clothing is sewn in black and white squares like a draught-board.'²⁰⁵ However, it is interesting to note that Sparrman said the clothing was 'sewn'. This is in evident contrast to the Chambers image that appears to show the inside texture of a woven kaupapa, which would suggest overlaid strips of skin rather than sewn pieces. Either way, to date, no cloak of this pattern is known to exist in any museum collection around the world. That there appears to be no traditional Maori name for this style, and that there are only two confirmed pieces of evidence – the lost drawing of Parkinson and the single report of Sparrman – argues that a cloak of this design was uncommon.

VERIFICATION OF TECHNOLOGICAL SKILL

Maori had the technological skill to create the chequered cloak. Material evidence has already demonstrated that aesthetic appeal was important in Maori clothing and that technical skills had been developed to control the use of colour in design. This is shown in the borders of topuni, the stripes of awarua, and the chequered side borders of white cloaks. The apparent horizontal element was also probable. As a botanical artist accustomed to portraying texture, it is almost certain that Parkinson conveyed a specific pile direction in his work. The Anauru cloak documented by Monkhouse, and the 'parawai' cloak recorded by Angas (Figure 5.21) previously discussed, prove the horizontal application of strips of skin as an established practice. Thus the combination of evidence proves the chequered cloak portrayed by Chambers was technologically attainable.

Section E Empirical process

VALIDATION OF THE GARMENT FLARE

If the portrayal of Chambers is an accurate engraving of Parkinson's initial image, the unusual flare of the chequered cloak requires new thinking. Mead analysed the principles of design in the line of chiefly cloaks, identifying four basic shapes (Figure 5.24). The Chambers image does not fit into this framework. Cloaks overlaid with vertical strips of skin are smaller in size and rectangular in drape as shown on the extreme left of his sketch.

²⁰⁵ Sparrman, p. 187.

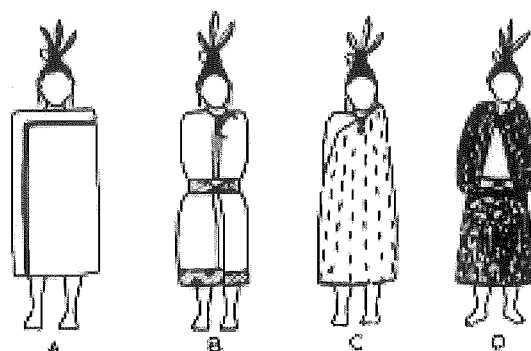


Fig. 19. Classical Maori dress styles.

Figure 5.24 After Mead, his 'principles of design'.

Experiments made with a model and chequered cloth showed that a typical rectangular shaped cloak produced only the usual oblong block that, according to Mead, emphasised the vertical line and height of the wearer (Figure 5.25 b).²⁰⁶

However, the cloak of Parkinson's warrior does not hang in this manner. Further experiments suggest this garment was worn another way.²⁰⁷ Rather than tied in the usual method around the shoulders giving the familiar rectangular shape, experiments with longer, narrower lengths of cloth suggest that the cloak may have been worn more in the manner of a broad stole, falling from around the neck. This method of wearing appears to be substantiated by the documentary evidence of Monneron on board *St Jean Baptiste* in 1769: 'Their dress ... is rather like the cape worn by our priests.'²⁰⁸ It accounts for the apparent drape of the garment and would also affect the direction of the fur pile.

²⁰⁶ Mead, 1969, p. 88-90.

²⁰⁷ Bernard Smith has compared the pose with the classic Apollo Belvedere. 1992. *Imagining the Pacific : In the Wake of the Cook Voyages*. Yale University Press, New Haven and London, p. 94. This can be seen as an example of the 'classic allusion' dictate of the art historian obscuring potential ethnological data.

²⁰⁸ Monneron, in *Extracts from ... St Jean Baptiste, 1769*, p. 189.



After Parkinson, A New Zealand Warrior in his Proper Dress, & Compleatly Armed, to their Manner.



Model figure showing block appearance of rectangular cloak worn in usual manner.



Front view of experimental cloak shape worn to produce the drape and flare of the image attributed to Parkinson



Rear view of experimental cloak shape worn to produce the drape and flare of the image attributed to Parkinson

Figure 5.25 Comparisons of image after Parkinson with experimental model.

²¹¹ BL. London. Add. MS 23920, f.48.

OTHER CHEQUERED CLOAK IMAGES

Two other first voyage images that have been identified as showing chequered dogskin cloaks can be questioned. While it is possible that this identification may be correct, they have not been produced as evidence to support the Chambers image in this case because they are unproven. The first is worn by the seated figure in the stern of Parkinson's work *New Zealand War Canoe* (Figure 5.26); the second is worn by a figure portrayed by Spöring. In a small pencil sketch (267 x 416mm) entitled *New Zealand War Canoe The Crew bidding defiance to the Ships Company*,²¹¹ Spöring showed a tiny figure on a double-hulled waka, amidst a crowded crew of about fifty-seven people (Figure 5.27). This image is believed to date from an incident that occurred 2 November 1769,²¹² thus suggesting that the garment may have been seen near the locality of Motuhora (Whale Island).

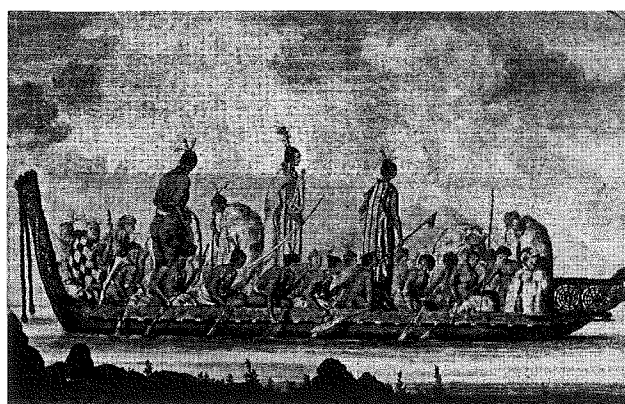


Figure 5.26 Parkinson, *New Zealand War Canoe*.

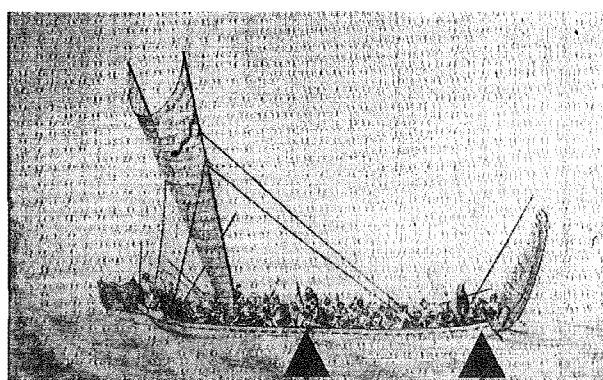


Figure 5.27 Spöring, *New Zealand War Canoe: The Crew bidding defiance to the Ships Company*.



Figure 5.28 Detail from Parkinson, (refer Figure 5.26).



Figure 5.29 Detail from Spöring, (refer Figure 5.27).

Mead has stated that Spöring's central figure (Figure 5.29) is wearing dogskin.²¹³ However, identifications based purely on similarity to previous examples should not be accepted without examination or without considering alternative possibilities. There is no evidence that the garments were ever close enough to be examined or definitively identified by either artist. Comparisons with other material evidence, namely black and white chequered feather cloaks (Figure 5.30), and other block patterns (Figure 5.31) suggest that it is also possible that the images may have been feathered or dyed harakeke garments. For this reason, this study has refrained from assuming they were made of dogskin.

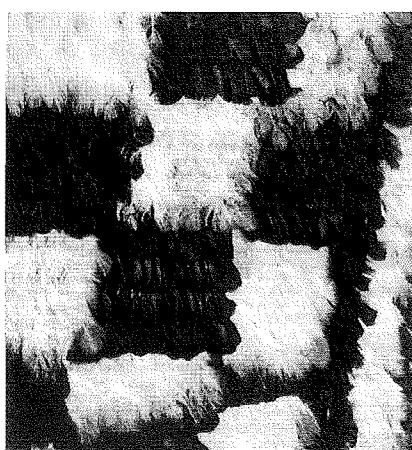


Figure 5.30 Kahu huruhuru, with tui and kereru feathers. Auckland Museum 297.

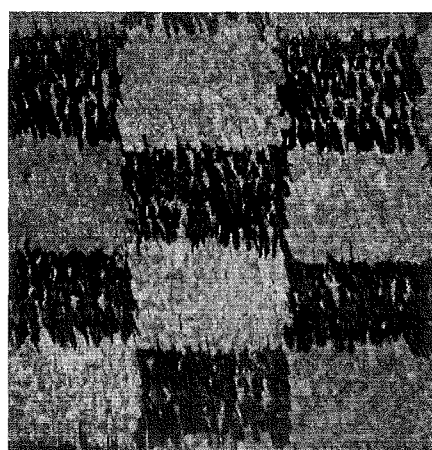


Figure 5.31 Kakahu with block pattern from Hawkes Bay. MONZ ME 306.

²¹² The date is suggested by Joppein and Smith, in concurrence with Banks, *Journal I*, 423-4. *The Art of Captain Cook's Voyages*, Vol. 1, p. 178.

²¹³ Mead, 1997. *Maori Art on the World Scene*. p. 99.

However, a standing figure at the stern of Spöring's sketch does appear to be wearing a dogskin cloak (Figure 5.32). He has a dark cloak with a light coloured border at the neck and down the wearer's right side, similar to the garment described at Poverty Bay. The interior is plain, suggesting the woven kaupapa of the cloak. This style of garment does not occur in materials other than dogskin, which allows this example to be identified with some certainty.



Figure 5.32 Detail of topuni from Spöring.

Other graphic evidence of cloaked figures by Parkinson require re-examination. Previous identifications of 'dogskin' cloaks can be challenged on the basis of material evidence to the contrary. In a work entitled *New Zealand War Canoe*,²¹⁴ Parkinson portrayed a standing man wearing a striped cloak which initially looks like dogskin (Figure 5.26). In two other group composite scenes, he produced two more figures wearing striped cloaks. They are in *New Zealand War Canoe bidding defiance to the Ship*²¹⁵ and *New Zealand War Canoe*²¹⁶ (Figure 5.34).

²¹⁴ BL. London. Add. MS 23920, f.46.

²¹⁵ BL. London. Add. MS 23920, f.50.

²¹⁶ BL. London. Add. MS 23920, f.49.

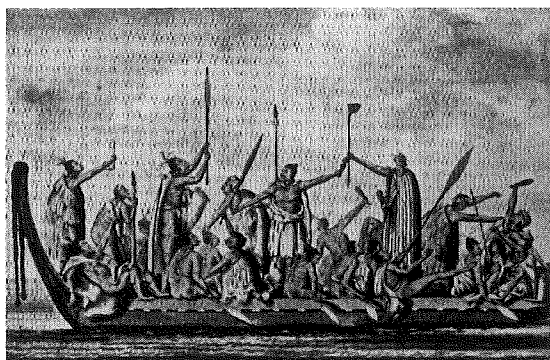


Figure 5.33 Parkinson, *New Zealand War Canoe bidding defiance to the Ship.*

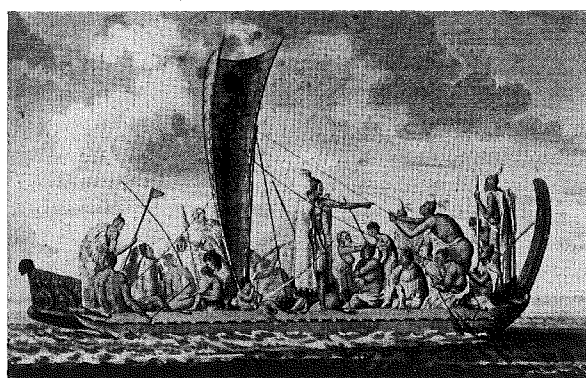


Figure 5.34 Parkinson, *New Zealand War Canoe.*

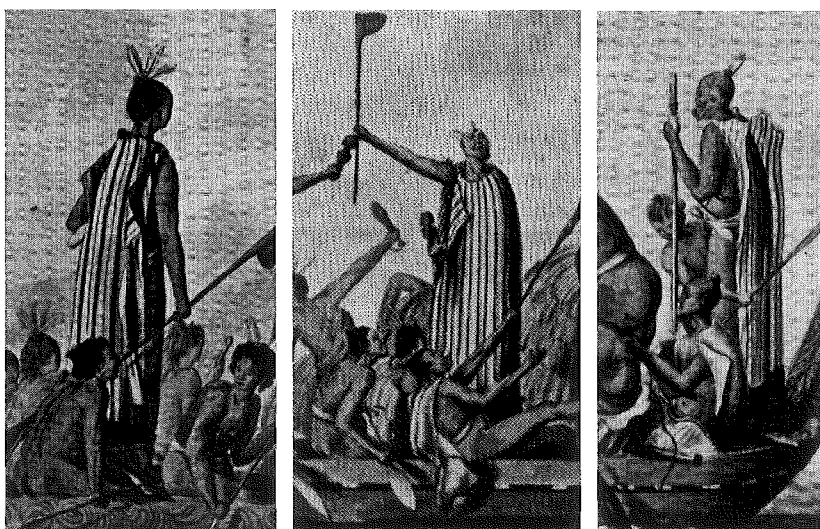


Figure 5.35 a, b, c. Details of three striped cloaked figures.

Each of these three works shows a standing figure wearing a cloak with vertical stripes. (Figure 5.35 a, b, c) Mead has identified these as examples of 'the dogskin costume'.²¹⁷ He described the garment worn by the figure standing at the stern in detail (c) as an 'awarua', a style which has alternating vertical stripes of white and dark-coloured dog hair. However, when the turned-back, exposed interior cloak section of each wearer is examined, it also reveals vertical stripes. Material evidence does not corroborate this detail. All dogskin cloaks that have been examined in New Zealand museum collections to date²¹⁸ have plain, undyed, closely woven harakeke kaupapa. Therefore it seems more likely that these Parkinson images depict kakahu of harakeke with striped whenu, such as the example held in the Auckland Museum (Figure 5.36). Documentary evidence supports this hypothesis: 'One old man, in particular, who seemed to be a chief, was painted red, and had a red garment, but the garments of some others were striped.'²¹⁹

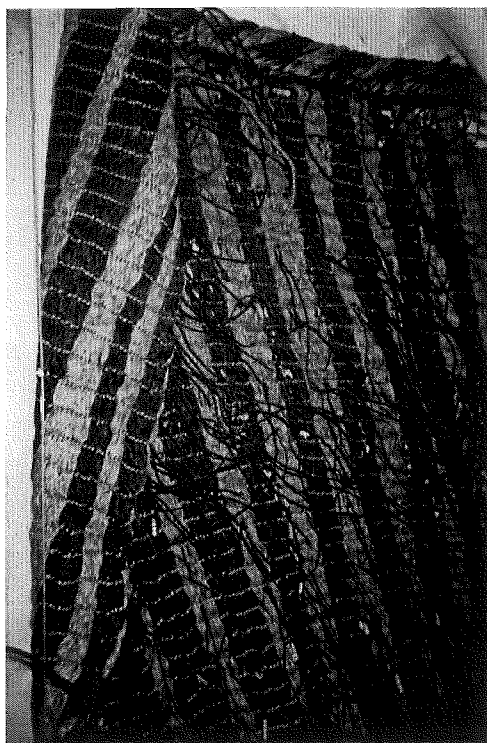


Figure 5.36 A cloak with vertical striped whenu. The exterior has hukahuka attached on the rows of natural coloured stripes. The interior, partially rolled back at the left, shows the vertical stripes visible on the underside. Auckland Museum.

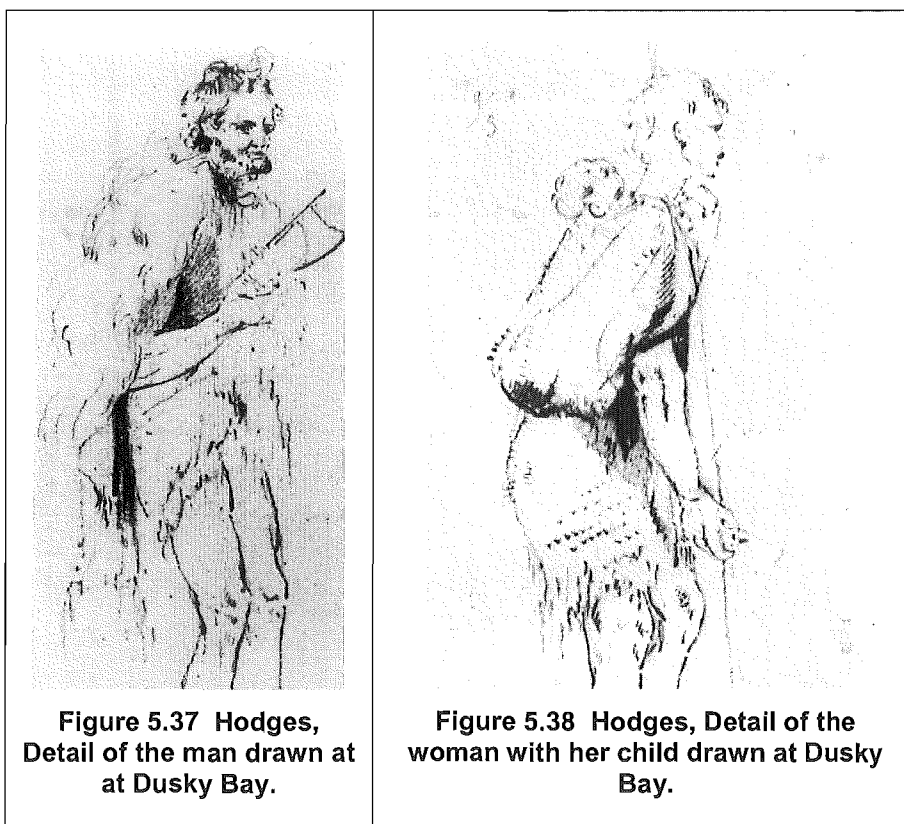
²¹⁷ Mead, 1969. 'The Costume Styles of the Classical Maori in New Zealand, 1642-1800 A.D.' in *Costume: The Journal of the Costume Society* No. 3. London, Victoria and Albert Museum, pp. 35-43.

²¹⁸ Auckland, Gisborne, Napier, Wellington, Canterbury and Otago Museums.

²¹⁹ Parkinson, p. 93.

FEATHERED CLOAK

From the successive Cook voyages, only two images using skins appear to have survived. Hodges portrayed feathered capes from Doubtful Sound (Figure 5.37 and 5.38).



**Figure 5.37 Hodges,
Detail of the man drawn at
at Dusky Bay.**

**Figure 5.38 Hodges, Detail of the
woman with her child drawn at Dusky
Bay.**

Documentary evidence has already indicated that people in Dusky Bay wore short feathered cloaks, and that they were making them in sufficient quantities to present them to Cook, Forster and Hodges as previously noted. Forster's journal recorded:

...there appeared now the woman with a child on her back ... They were wrapped in mats made of the flaxplant & woven with parrot feathers.²²⁰

Forster's evidence indicates that these garments were worn by women as well as men. Furthermore, it seems clear that these were not skins stitched together, but had feathers inserted during the weaving process. The 'curiously interwoven' technique that Forster had earlier noted²²¹ suggested these feathers were incorporated in the whatu process of twining.

²²⁰ Forster, Vol. 2, p. 249.

²²¹ Forster, Vol. 1, pp. 160-1.

CONCLUSIONS

It is evident that Maori use of skins as an element of traditional dress was considerably more widespread and complex than has previously been recognised. This chapter has shown that although the lack of a standard terminology continues to confuse the issue, material evidence demonstrates that Maori not only used a wide variety of resources over a long period of time, they also devised a number of different techniques to create garments from them.

In all prior research of Maori clothing, the technical complexities of sewing have been completely ignored. Previously unrecognised evidence of Maori sewing technology has shown two distinctively different stitching techniques and types of seam. As an element of material culture, this evidence supports Skinner's theory of culture areas in New Zealand.²²² The knotted blanket stitch was found in Skinner's Murihiku Culture Area, whereas the interlocking double running stitch was found in the West Coast Culture Area (North Island). This evidence also shows how former researchers have under-estimated Maori technology. Best was informed of but never saw the Otago weka skins, and clearly doubted Maori ability to have created garments in this way. He wrote:

South Island natives appear to have made capes by sewing together skins of *weka*, the threads being passed through the turned up edges of the skins, apparently, but the description received is not very clear; probably the skins were fastened to some form of woven groundwork.²²³

Similarly, Anderson and Simmons failed to recognise any significance in Maori sewing ability. To date, the two types of sewing 'thread' that have been identified are plied muka, or miro, and kuri thong; it is not yet known whether Maori ever used sinews for sewing. There is an underpinning expertise in the preparation and management of skins, and the development of different needles to meet specific purposes that is yet to be thoroughly investigated.

This chapter has also demonstrated the need for closer scrutiny of late eighteenth century evidence. Although members of Cook's expeditions had continued to observe numbers of dogskin cloaks, little was specifically described; and while there were numerous drawings of Maori made during that period, there is

²²²H.D. Skinner, 1974. *Comparatively Speaking : Studies in Pacific Material Culture 1921-1972*. University of Otago Press, Dunedin, pp. 18-24.

negligible contemporary graphic evidence showing dogskin cloaks. An analysis of the first voyage images reveals the problems of working with second generation images; despite their having been widely accepted 'verbatim' in the past; such images require verification before they can be taken as legitimate interpretations of traditional Maori dress. Even with some validation, they suggested an unfamiliar style of cloak that needed further explanation; this was met by the empirical procedures that were introduced and which offer new interpretations of existing data. An investigation of other images has exposed the pitfalls of previous assumptions that have been based on the familiarity of prior knowledge, without adequate analysis.

Nonetheless, eighteenth century evidence has provided more information about the value which Maori accorded to garments of skins, or adorned with skins, at this time. The signalling of status by the wearing of skin garments was clearly recognised, and the chiefly figures were easily identified. Most significantly, however, the stitched hurukuri and the overlaid kahukuri that they wore were not freely traded. In contrast, gathered material evidence suggests that sumptuary protocols were practised; these can be inferred from the design of cloaks with only a few small strips of skin used to embellish their corners, or to enhance their taniko borders. At the same time, evidence suggests that the special maro once worn by women for dancing was either quite regionally specific, or on the decline. This, in conjunction with the traditional evidence of red feathered and white dogskin maro, and with the subsequent varieties of cloak described by Nicholas, suggests a concept of fashion about which little is known. French evidence also hinted at elements of customary practice which are no longer fully appreciated.

The synthesis of evidence in this chapter has revealed new information on Maori use of bird and dogskins. While it has clarified the presuppositions of some earlier studies, there is still more work to be done in this area. Further research will teach us more about not only traditional Maori dress, but also traditional Maori society.

²²³ Best, 1977, *Forest Lore of the Maori*, p. 178. The stitched weka skins to which Best referred are those from the Hocken Collection that were examined by Hamilton.

CHAPTER 6 THE WRAPPED GARMENT

In the selection of images that were incorporated in the publication of Cook's voyages, a number of alternative images were overlooked. These portrayed Maori in apparel that is now unfamiliar. Almost all scholars of traditional Maori dress have restricted their observations to familiar material. Despite the evidence of Dutch and British voyages, it appears that no previous scholar has conscientiously attempted to resolve the conundrum of the body garment worn by the standing figure in the waka at Murderer's Bay in 1642, and by other Maori at Queen Charlotte Sound in 1770 (Figures 6.1 and 6.2).



Figure 6.1 Detail, after Gilsemans.

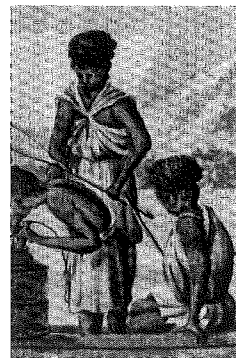


Figure 6.2 Detail after Parkinson.

The garment worn by Gilsemans's figure is reminiscent of an antique cuirass, whereas the version portrayed by Parkinson appears fully draped. This item of clothing has been neither verified nor disputed, but rather, ignored. This seems extraordinary because the evidence has been available since the late eighteenth century; the work of Parkinson is not generally ignored, nor is it challenged on the grounds of inaccuracy, so the lack of prior investigation seems remarkable. Even though traditional and material sources provide only meagre evidence, a re-examination of documentary evidence confirms that the garment observed during the voyages of Cook existed. Furthermore, an analysis of graphic evidence of Gilsemans, Parkinson, Hodges and Webber ascertains its general appearance and prevalence. Synthesis of this data provided the basis for devising an empirical procedure that has enabled the reconstruction of the garment style. This has produced evidence that prior to European contact, traditional Maori dress included a style that was quite different from the stereotypical image that has dominated the last 200 years.

SECTION A: Traditional and material evidence

VARIETIES AND COMBINATIONS OF DRESS

Oral tradition provides evidence of various types of garment and materials used for clothing, but despite a wide range of distinctively different cloaks and capes, it does not appear to directly support the notion of an anomalous Maori garment, such as that depicted by Gilsemans and Parkinson. Regions without suitable harakeke had to use alternative plant sources for general purpose clothing. In the forest ranges of Ruatahuna, the only available harakeke was a hill variety with poor quality fibre. Consequently, as an alternative, local people sometimes made rough garments from the mauku fern (*Asplenium bulbiferum*). This led to their being called 'Rua-tahuna kakahu mauku' - mauku clothed Ruatahuna (people).¹ Rangi-aho of Tuhoe was also known as Te Mai-taranui because he wore a cloak or mai of taranui, a particular species of grass.² Capes made of tussock grass are held in the Otago Museum; a cloak of tikumu leaves in the Canterbury Museum, while many museums hold examples of the prestigious black-dyed cape of mountain toi, which was exclusive to warriors.

Maori learned that various species of harakeke were suited to different end uses. Some were preferred for raranga purposes, others for making whariki (floor mats), while others still produced better muka or fibre for whatu or finger-twinning. Different types of garment and weaving techniques were developed. Nga Puhi tradition records the introduction of new garment technology in their region at the time when the sons of Maru-tuahu had grown up:

About this time a new kind of mat called *tatara* (a loose open mat) was brought to Whakatiwai by some people of other tribes who were travelling.

... called a *tatara* (loose) which the Nga-puhi called *haronga* (scraped flax) and which is made of the flax called *wharariki* (*Phormium colensoi*). Six women of Mau-tuahu's people went to Hauraki to gather the species.³

Such experimentation led to the discovery of muka with different textile properties, in terms of length, colour, strength and gloss. Maori weaving skills became increasingly complex. Fine garments that were distinct from the everyday wear of ordinary people were produced for the ariki or rangatira class. Furthermore, evidence suggests that some garments were produced for trading. According to White, Moko was a Ngati-kuri robber-chief with his settlement on the banks of the

¹ Best, 1925. *Tuhoe*... Vol. 1. , p. 355.

² Best, 1925. *Tuhoe*... Vol. 1. , pp. 544-5.

³ White, *AMH*, Vol. 4, p. 48.

Waipara River, close by the main thoroughfare to the north. Moko frequently raided travelling parties, 'as large quantities of mutton-birds, dried fish, prepared *tii*-palm, and other Native products were carried north, and supplies of clothes (Native mats) and other things brought back in return'.⁴

Tradition records various garment names, the diverse meanings of which are no longer recognised, so the unknown item of apparel may be concealed among these. In addition, oral histories also testify that a number of garments were worn together. In the Ngati Maru story, when Maru-tuahu prepared his appearance, he not only carefully dressed and adorned his hair (refer Chapter 3), he put on a range of garments as well:

They now saw Maru-tuahu adorned and looking as beautiful as the *kawau* (*Graculus varius*), with a *puweru* (shaggy mat) outside, and next inward the *kahakaha* (a fine light-coloured mat), and the *kopu* (soft mat worn next to the skin), which are the most prized mats of our chiefs.⁵

In Tainui tradition, when Paoa travels to the Ruawehea pa at Hauraki, he similarly wears three garments:

He was wearing the mat kopuku (a mat closely woven) next to his person, and next outside of that the pihepihe (a chief's girdle), and outside of all the whanake (rough winter mat).⁶

When the chief Tanguru tried to escape across the lake Rotoatara from Kahungunu warriors, he dressed himself in 'all his beautiful garments', intending 'that he might take them with him and so keep his valuables'. When his moki (raft) overturned he was drowned, but the Kahungunu people saw what happened and used rou (hooks) that caught in his clothes enabling them pull up the body and take him out of the lake. They took 'his fine mats the Parawai, Topuri, [sic] Kaitaka, and Pake'.⁷ That the chief hoped to keep his prestigious garments indicates their value in society.

The range of diverse garments was not exclusive to highly born males. In the Ngati Kahukoka tradition of Puhihuia, the young woman who eloped with Pongo, while the waka was still offshore Puhihuia stood and began to remove her clothing:

She ... took the outer mat⁸ she had on and laid it close to Ponga, and so on with the next mat.⁹ Readjusting the last and inner mat she had on, she doubled the part which covered

⁴ White, 1887. A.M.H. Vol. 3, pp. 193, 291.

⁵ White, AMH, Vol. 4, p. 207.

⁶ White, AMH, Vol. 4, pp. 226-234. The whanake was not a prestigious garment, which Paoa chose to retain for his own reasons. It apparently had a 'thick rope-like fringe' at the neck edge which 'rubbed and frizzed up' his hair, until it looked 'like the feathers in a bird's wing', to the concern of his friends who wanted him to make a good impression.

^{8,9} White, AMH, Vol. 8, n.p. (Item 101)

⁸ 'te kakahu o waho' White, AMH, Vol. 4, Whakapapa Tupuna Maori, p. 136.

her shoulders down over in a fold round her waist,¹⁰ and bound it round her with a karetu (Hierochloa redolens,) belt.¹¹

Even patu-paiarehe (fairy folk) such as those of Ngongotaha Mountain wore a variety of apparel in a story which also serves to indicate that the number of garments worn could hinder the agility of the wearer:

They wore chiefly the flax garments called *pakerangi*, dyed a red colour; they also wore the rough mats *pōra* and *pureke*. The beautiful young *patu-paiarehe* woman who tried to catch the Maori ancestor Ihenga threw away most of her garments in order to run faster, but she was put off by the smell of the shark oil and *kokowai* paste he smeared on himself as he made his escape.¹²

The combined evidence of oral tradition demonstrates that the dress of Maori society incorporated a wide variety and combination of garments, not all of which are currently recognised or understood.

SUITABLE APPEARANCE FOR SIGNIFICANT OCCASIONS

As seen in the East Coast story of Tapuae, (Chapter 5) suitable, chiefly appearance was important to Maori when receiving visitors. Status could be indicated through prestigious woven garments, as well as those that incorporated various skins. This concern about creating a seemly appearance is further indicated in the arrival of the visitors Taharakau and Te Angiangi from Turanga in the completion of the same story. Tapuae was scornful at the initially bedraggled appearance of his visitors; Te Angiangi had travelled in his best clothing, an aronui and paepaeroa, and been unprepared for bad weather. His garments were sodden, his ornamental feathers awry, and his red ochre streaked. Conversely, Taharakau had taken the precaution of keeping his good clothing wrapped in ti-fibre¹³ and tarahau (rough rain capes) safely protected from the elements so that he could make an appropriate stately appearance.¹⁴

Oral tradition also records the type of occasion that required the use of ceremonial or formal apparel for leaders. A Kahungunu story tells how a warrior party at Te Mania waited for their chief, Tamaterangi, to recite the ritual tohi (an intonation for the warriors) before they set off. However, the chief did not move. After a time,

⁹ 'kei to roto atu ka peratia ano' White, AMH, Vol. 4, Whakapapa Tupuna Maori, p. 136.

¹⁰ 'Ka tae ki roto rawa, ki te kakahu maunga ki tana kiri, ka mau aia ki tan whitiki karetu, whatuia iho a runga o te kakahu kotahi e mau ra i aia, ka tatuatia ki tana hope' White, AMH, Vol. 4, Whakapapa Tupuna Maori, p. 136.

¹¹ White, AMH, Vol. 4, p. 142. Pongo later swims carefully ashore, with these garments tied round his head to prevent them becoming wet, p. 144.

¹² J. Cowan, 1930. 'Fairy Folk Tales of the Maori', in *Te Ao Hou*, No. 58, March-May 1967, pp. 16-17.

¹³ Ti-fibre or kaitaka ti was made by beating the fibrous cordyline after heating and extracting the pulp.

his younger brother Makoro approached him, asking him to stand and perform the rite over the war party.¹⁵ Tamaterangi's reply has become a proverb, 'He ao te rangi ka uhia a ma te huruhuru te manu ka rere ai' (It requires clouds to clothe heaven and feathers to make a bird fly). Makoro apparently understood from this that his brother felt he did not have clothing befitting this ceremony, and so took off his own cloak to place it on Tamaterangi. Thus appropriately clad, the chief stood and the ceremony proceeded.¹⁶

The following tradition pertaining to the planting of kumara suggests that a deeper significance of personal presentation was relevant to the success of an anticipated outcome. According to Pita Kapita, it was necessary for men involved in the ceremonial planting of kumara plots to be clothed in:

... 'goodly garments'. Such garments as the 'pueru' or 'tarahau' must not be worn, otherwise the kumara might run to underground stems, or throw small tubers.... On the other hand such garments as the 'aronui,' 'mahiti,' 'paepaeroa,' 'puhoro,' or 'patea' are suitable garments for planting a 'mara tautane'.¹⁷

This infers that good personal presentation was more than a display of individual mana; and that cultural rites may have been rendered more effective by dressing judiciously, thereby ensuring auspicious conditions for the most successful outcome.

Tradition therefore shows that Maori, particularly those of rank, wore a range of different garments made from varied botanical sources. They went to some effort to create a suitable appearance for particular circumstances and often wore a number of items of clothing. Although these facts in themselves do not provide concrete evidence of the existence of any specific item of apparel, they do indicate that Maori enjoyed diversity in dress.

¹⁴ Mohi Turei, 'Taharakau' in *JPS* Vol. 22, pp. 62-6. tr by W.L. Williams.

¹⁵ 'E, ta e tu ra ki te tohi i a tatou'.

¹⁶ J.H. Mitchell, 1944. *Takitimu*, A.H. & A.W. Reed, Wellington, N.Z., p. 104. The repercussions were that Makoro later presented Tamaterangi with his own wife Hine-muturangi, as Tama's wife Hine-rangi was not a skilled weaver. The incident is recalled when Maori without suitable means describe themselves as 'a descendant of Hine-rangi', or conversely claim 'I am a descendant of Hine-muturangi' when they are 'well heeled'.

¹⁷ Mohi Turei, dictated by Pita Kapita, 1913, 'Kumara Lore' in *JPS*, 1913, Vol. 22, p. 36-39. Tr., W.L. Williams, Williams give a pueru as a coarsely woven garment of dressed flax, a tarahau as a shaggy cloak of kiekie fibres, mahiti as a cloak covered with long white hairs of dogs' tails, and aronui, paepaeroa, puhoro and pateas as finely woven garments of dressed flax differing from one another in their ornamentation. fn. p. 37.

MATERIAL EVIDENCE

Just as the apparent absence of traditional evidence should not be taken at face value, so the initial lack of material evidence needs to be further explored. While none of the known cloaks collected on Cook's expeditions measure more than 185 by 185cm,¹⁸ senior Maori weavers Emily Schuster and Diggeress Te Kanawa were surprised at the large proportions of some of the cloaks they examined in Europe in 1996.¹⁹ For example, a korowai at Cambridge No. 67206a, measures 219 cm by 168 cm; a cloak at the Royal Albert Museum, Exeter, No. E 1629, is 222 cm by 161 cm; a kaitaka at Bristol City Museum, No. E 1128, is 214 cm by 181 cm; the Brighton Museum and Art Gallery holds kaitaka E 6 76 measuring 210 cm by 160 cm, and R3462 1952 which is 206.5 cm by 137.5 cm.²⁰ These garments are much larger than one would expect if they were simply worn around the shoulders; their size suggests they were worn or used in a different way.

SECTION B: Dutch evidence

A re-examination of the official Dutch documentary evidence adds little data; Tasman's journal included only a few lines on the topic of Maori clothing. The Heeres translation states: '... their clothing (So it appeared) some of mats, others Cottons, Some and almost all the upper body naked....'²¹ This is virtually identical to the Huydecoper translation.²²

In comparison, the translation of the Haalbos-Montanus description disclosed some different information:

[Marginal note: *their shape*] ... round the neck hung a square plate; across the chest was a long white stripe:

[Marginal note: *dress*,] they wore a square cloak, tied before the throat. In the middle of the canoes,

[Marginal note: *canoes*.] bound together two and two, was the chief who encouraged the rowers. Among the chiefs stood out a grey man, who came close alongside, and called out in a rough and deep voice....²³

¹⁸ Examples: British Museum NZ 135 L. 132 cm, W. 154 cm; Hanover 1854, No 33. L 185 cm, W 160 cm; Stockholm, Collection No. 1848.1.5 (dogskin) L 115cm, W 160 cm; Stockholm Collection No. 1799.2.2 L 123 cm, W 151 cm; Museum of Vienna, Collection No. 25 L 114 cm, W 182 cm; Göttingen Inv. Oz 314. L 113 cm, W 164 cm; Berne NS 24. L 123 cm, W 180 cm; Hanover 1854, No 33. L 185 cm, W 160 cm; Trinity College Dublin Collection No.1882.3 729 L 133 cm, W 183.5cm. In comparison, dogskin cloaks generally measure approximately 100 cm by 100cm.

¹⁹ Personal conversation, Christchurch, 1997.

²⁰ Simmonds, D., 1996. *Draft catalogues of Maori Material held in English Museums II*, unpublished. Accession dates are not useful here in establishing dates of manufacture or collection.

²¹ Sharp, pp 121-122. Heeres translation.

²² '... their Dress was (it seemed) with some of mats/ others of Cotton/ Some or nearly all wore the upper part of the body naked/....' Huydecoper MS, P.K.Roest translation, copy courtesy G.

Anderson. p. 85.

²³ Sharp, p.42.

This is interesting because it introduces semi-familiar material that was not recorded by any other member of Tasman's expedition; material for which it is possible to find explanations,²⁴ but the account is disappointing in that it fails to mention the garment portrayed by Gilsemans (Figures 6.3 and 6.4).



Figure 6.3 Detail, after Gilsemans showing Maori dress.

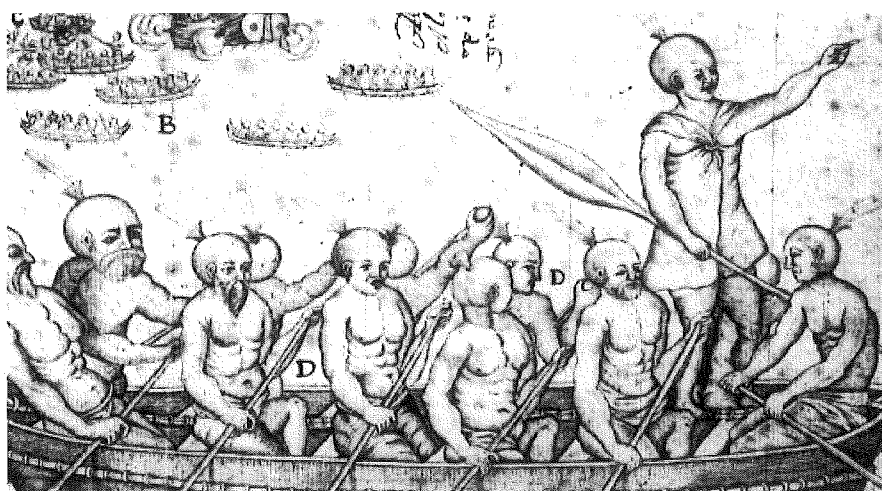


Figure 6.4 Detail, Blok image, showing Maori dress.

The SAC and Blok images are compared together here because the Maori clothing depicted is consistent in both works. The dress of the group in the waka Gilsemans portrayed presents some challenges. The party appears to be totally unarmed; this fact, combined with the evidence of the tatua and maro worn by the standing figures from the central battle incident, (refer Chapter 2), suggests that

²⁴ The 'square plate' hanging around the neck may be a rectilinear hei tiki. The long white stripe across the chest was probably body paint; the white is unusual because red ochre was the most frequent material used, although yellow, blue and black were recorded in the early part of the nineteenth century. The rectangular cloak tied around the neck is more familiar and the canoes bound together in pairs are also recognisable.

these figures were drawn from the group which approached the Dutch ships at twilight, the day before the fatal incident.

Only the clothing of the figures in the foreground waka can be seen. Although Mead has commented that 'the words "mats" and "cotton stuffs" hardly assist in informing us about the clothing itself',²⁵ the drawing of Gilsemans does furnish more information. While none of the paddlers' clothing is easy to distinguish, the waist garment of the man seated in the bow appears to reach below his knees; cloth around his hipline shows soft folds, indicating that in terms of textile properties, this was a pliable fabric with some draping qualities. The seated figure second from the right has cloth swathed below his belly. The third figure also has pliable cloth which may be worn as some kind of loin cloth. The figure behind him appears to be covered from hip to knee, while the two figures at the left may also be clad in loincloths. It is notable that all wear textile that suggests some draping or gathering qualities, and there is some variety in what is shown. As stated, Tasman's journal text had suggested that some clothing appeared to be mats and while others were perceived to be of cotton, but his expedition had no opportunity to discover that cotton was not grown in New Zealand. The textiles the Dutch saw could only have been made from the indigenous flax using the *whatu* technique that is still practised by Maori.

The figure standing in the waka is alone in wearing a full garment. Traditional evidence has already shown the significance of chiefly presentation. His exclusive garb, coupled with his dominant stance, suggest that the man is a leader in his group. The article he holds has already been shown to have marked similarity to the shape of a ceremonial paddle (refer Chapter 2). His garment, reaching from under his arm to his upper thigh, shows a seam or fold at the centre-front, while corners of cloth come over his shoulders from the rear, to be held, apparently fastened to the fabric across the wearer's chest. Lines drawn at the fastening point, the top of the shoulders, and along the sides under the arms denote textile flexibility, with folds characteristic of malleable fabric. Intriguing as this item of clothing is, it has remained an unresolved mystery for centuries, ignored by scholars.

Nevertheless, Gilsemans was so convinced of the accuracy of the garment he sketched that it was pictured again in the image he made of Three Kings Islands

²⁵ Mead, 1969. p. 45.

(refer Chapter 2). Of the two tiny figures on the skyline, one appears to be wearing a loincloth while the other has body attire with a line down the centre-front. Furthermore, his depiction was faithfully replicated in the Blok image; so that despite the lack of documentary evidence, enough graphic evidence exists from Tasman's expedition to suggest Gilsemans was attempting to portray a genuine garment.

SECTION C: Eighteenth century documentary evidence

Even though traditional and material sources provided only meagre evidence, a re-examination of journal evidence confirms that the apparently unfamiliar garment portrayed during the voyages of Cook was well documented. Several expeditionary members described the garment they saw Maori wear wrapped around themselves, but their descriptions were not precise enough to enable the style to be reproduced.²⁶ Monkhouse described the clothing of the man who was killed at Poverty Bay. His account included a description of the cloth. He wrote:

He had on him a dress of singular manufacture – the warp consisted of parcels of the fibres of some plant not twined or formed into thread, but the cross threads were properly twined, and run in parcels of two or three together with an interval of about four lines between each parcel; a strong selvaige thread run along each side but the ends appear cut out of a web of the manufacture – this cloth might be about four feet by three – descended from his neck to the buttocks, completely covering the back – its upper corners were turned back and tied – from the upper angle of this reflected part on each side went a string which tied across the neck before – the lower part on each side was brought across the hips and secured with a kind of sedge leaf passed round the loins.²⁷

Monkhouse's description of the cloth is included here because it establishes the textile properties of the material. It indicates that the warp was formed of groups of muka fibre which would retain some softness, while the weft had been plied (miro) which increases fibre strength. The weft spacings at 'four lines'²⁸ are not tightly packed, thereby creating a malleable textile. The 'parcels of two or three' threads together suggest that it was made by double-pair twining, rather than single-pair twining. Monkhouse estimated that the cloth was about four feet by three feet, (122 cm by 91 cm) and noted that the man was short, being about five feet three inches tall. However, it is difficult to understand how the garment was worn from Monkhouse's record. Monkhouse stated that the man's back was

²⁶ Cook mentions 'other much finer clothing' than the 'thrum'd matts', Beaglehole Vol. 1, p. 279. Cf. Monkhouse in Beaglehole Vol. 1, p. 566, Anderson in Beaglehole Vol. 3, pp 809-810, Burney, 1975. *With Captain James Cook in the Antarctic and Pacific: the private journal of James Burney, second lieutenant of the Adventure on Cook's second voyage, 1772-1773*. Ed. Beverley Hooper, Canberra: National Library of Australia, p. 52.

²⁷ Beaglehole, p. 566.

completely covered, and that he wore a belt, but his descriptions of the upper corners being turned back and tied, and the string secured in front of the neck are both confusing.

Banks also noticed this garment and included two important entries in his diary. Firstly, he compared the man's clothing with the image adapted from Gilsemans's work: '... it was tied on exactly as represented in Mr. Dalrymple's book, p. 63...' ²⁹ thus relating it to the clothing seen at Queen Charlotte Sound. Subsequently, Banks referred to the same garment a second time:

The first man we saw when we went ashore at Poverty Bay, and who was killed by one of our people, had his dress tied in exactly the same manner as is represented in Mr. Dalrymple's account of Tasman's voyage, in a plate which I believe is copied from Valentijn's History of the East Indies; it was tied over his shoulders, across his breast, under his armpits, again across his breast, and round his loins. Of this dress we saw, however, but one more instance during our whole stay on the coast, although it seems quite convenient, as it leaves the arms quite at liberty, while the body is covered. ³⁰

Banks was in no doubt that the garment was worn in the same way as that depicted in Dalrymple's work, but was certain that they saw only one other example on the East Coast. However, as with Monkhouse, Banks's description proves confusing in attempts to reconstruct the method of wearing.

On the second voyage in 1773, Forster noted that this garment continued to be worn. He described two corners of the cloak being fastened in front with strings, as well as noting the use of the belt:

Their cloaks are square pieces, of which two corners were fastened on the breast by strings, and stuck together by a bodkin of bone, whalebone or green jade. A belt of a sort of close matting of grass, confined the lower extremities of their cloak to their loins, beyond which it extended to at least the middle of the thigh, and sometimes to the mid-leg. ³¹

Forster's account is interesting in that he also recorded the inclusion of a 'bodkin' of bone, whalebone or greenstone for fastening purposes. In addition, he established the length variations from mid-thigh to mid-leg.

Also on the second voyage, between May and June of 1773, Burney observed the garment wrapped round the wearer and fastened with a belt:

Their Dress is a Square piece of Cloth of their own manufacture (of Flax) calld Hahoo, this is wrapped round them and fastened with a belt. They have a kind of a matt which they call Buggy that they wear over the Hahoo in bad weather.... ³²

²⁸ Beaglehole gives a line as a measure, being a twelfth of an inch, p.566.

²⁹ Hooker, p. 184.

³⁰ Hooker, p. 234.

³¹ Forster, Vol. 1, p. 226.

³² Burney, p. 52.

Four years later in 1777 the garment was still being worn. The description from the third voyage, documented by surgeon's mate William Anderson, gave the most information:

The dress of both sexes is alike and consists of an oblong garment about five feet long and four broad made of the silky flax already mentioned. This seems their most material and complex manufacture, which is done by knotting, and is often ornamented with pieces of dog skin or checquer'd at the corners. They bring two corners of this over the shoulders and fasten it on the breast with the other which covers the body, and about the belly it is again tied with a matt girdle. Some are entirely covered with the large feathers of birds which seem work'd in when they are made, and others are quite covered with dog skin or that alone is worn as a covering.³³

Once again, the garment is described as rectangular, with corners brought over the shoulders and fastened on the chest in some way with the rest of the cloth which covered the body at the same time. The process of putting the cloth on remains elusive, nonetheless, documentary evidence over the eight years of Cook's exploration confirms that Maori wore some kind of wrapped garment.

SECTION D: Eighteenth century graphic evidence

PARKINSON'S EVIDENCE

With the eye of a botanical artist, accustomed to the conveyance of texture, Parkinson made valuable observations of the textures of Maori dress. A key perception was recorded in his many images that showed Maori wearing some quantities of a textile that appeared to be soft and malleable. Some of these articles are waist garments that seem to be full, almost gathered, around the waist. Others are swathed around the hipline, or across one shoulder. Certain others resemble soft tunics. The images below highlight some examples (Figure 6.). The apparently soft, draping quality of the cloth supports the earlier graphic evidence of Gilsemans.

³³ *The Journals of Captain James Cook on his Voyages of Discovery*. Vol. III. The Voyage of the *Resolution* and *Discovery*, 1776-1780. Part Two. Ed. J. C. Beaglehole, Published Cambridge, 1967. "A Journal of a Voyage made in his Majestys Sloop *Resolution*", Surgeon's mate on board *Resolution* second voyage, Journal – February 1777.

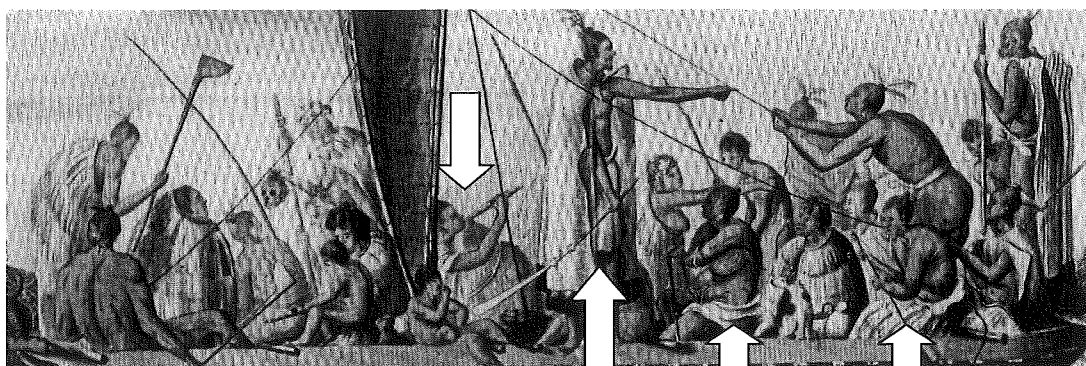


Figure 6.5 Clothing detail from Parkinson, *New Zealand War Canoe*.



Figure 6.6 Clothing detail from Parkinson, *New Zealand Canoe ; The Crew Peaceable*.

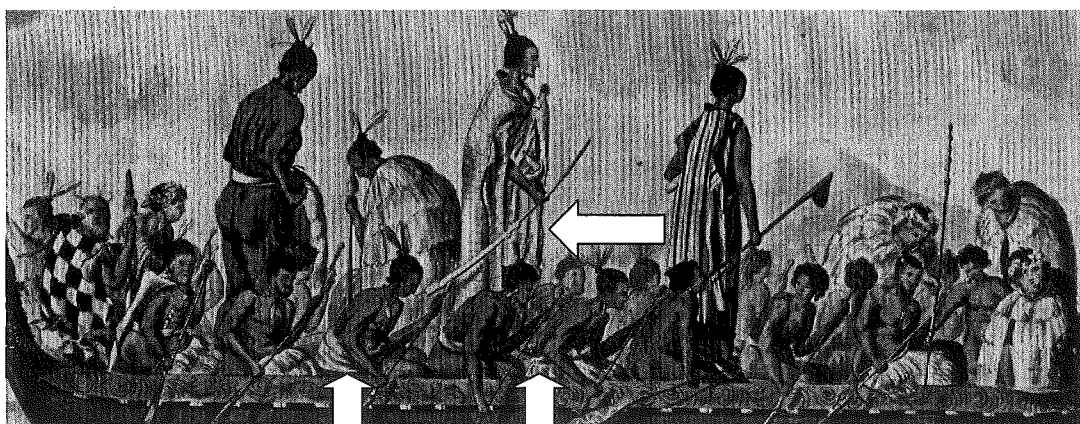


Figure 6.7 Clothing detail from Parkinson, *New Zealand War Canoe*.

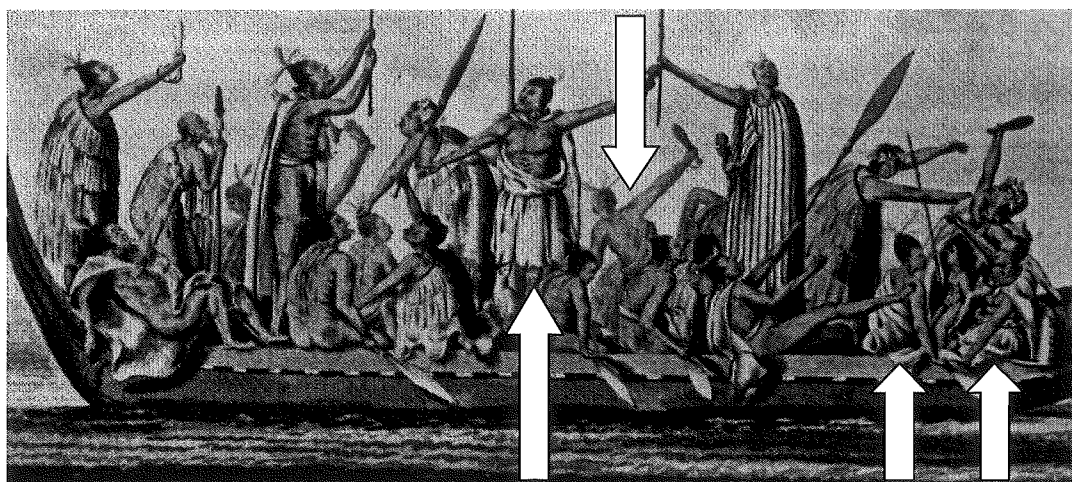


Figure 6.8 Clothing detail from Parkinson, New Zealand War Canoe bidding defiance to the Ship.

At Queen Charlotte Sound, as Banks had done, Parkinson also noted the resemblance of the regional clothing to that recorded in the reproduced image after Gilsemans.³⁴ He wrote:

The natives, in this part of New Zealand, wear large bunches of feathers on their heads, and their garments in a singular manner, just as Abel Tasman, the person who, about one hundred and fifty years ago, discovered this land, has figured in his work.³⁵

Parkinson, however, was to prove the opinion of his employer Banks in respect of the value of drawings compared to words in conveying information.³⁶ He made numerous sketches of Māori in a range of different dress, producing many empirical studies before he collated the images into larger works. The garment worn at Queen Charlotte Sound appeared to have a skirt that fell to the upper knee. The top sometimes covered the chest, seemingly gathered to a point at the centre. Sometimes it crossed the shoulders, leaving the arms entirely bare. In some profile views, it appeared to cross over high on the shoulder blades at the back. In other views, the upper arm was covered (Figure 6.9).

³⁴ In the Dalrymple publication on board *Endeavour*.

³⁵ Parkinson, p. 116.

³⁶ Smith, 1992, p. 77.

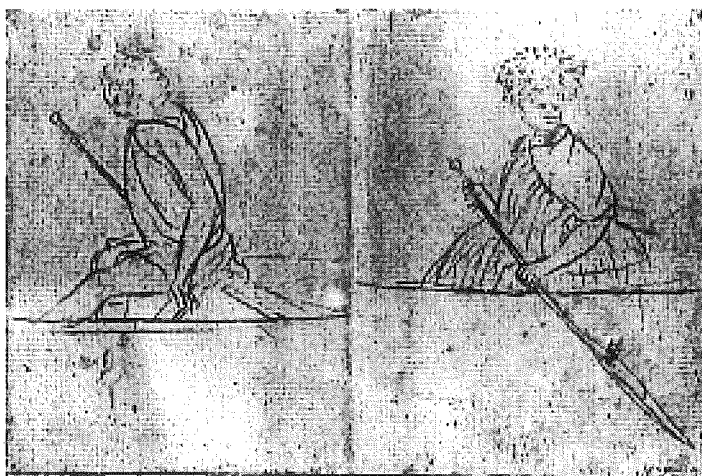


Figure 6.9 Parkinson field studies. MS 23920, f.65(b)

A number of such figures were assembled in Parkinson's work, *New Zealanders Fishing*, all of whom are wearing variations of a soft cloth garment (Figure 6.10). The gathered fabric over the shoulders of the figure standing in the foreground waka appears to join gathered cloth from under his arms and across his chest. The profiled torso of the seated figure to the right shows his back covered, his arms bare, while a short, full skirt crosses his thighs.

Parkinson clearly recognised the garment he saw at Queen Charlotte Sound as that which had been portrayed by Gilsemans 128 years before. This image has been published, but no-one has challenged or adequately explained the clothing depicted.



Figure 6.10 Parkinson, detail from *New Zealanders Fishing*.

HODGES'S EVIDENCE

Despite his lack of training in figure drawing, Hodges, like Parkinson, showed Maori in draped garments. In 1773, when Cook had returned to Queen Charlotte Sound, the *Resolution* was approached by a double-hulled waka. Hodges produced a small blot-like sketch of the visitors,³⁷ that he later developed into a pen and wash image of the incident.³⁸ The works show an oratorical figure in a knee-length, tunic-like garment draped across one shoulder and pouched at the waist. Joppien and Smith have asserted that in the later image, 'the figure of the orator, both in dress and stance, has been brought closer to a Roman *adlocutio* figure,' thereby suggesting this work reflects the influence of Hodges's previous classical study.³⁹

This classical allusion typifies the art historian practice of nullifying ethnological data contained in such documentary images; it obscures the fact that in both images the speaker's garment retains its length and drape. The attitude of Hodges's orator with his raised arm is universal and timeless (Figures 6.11 and 6.12).

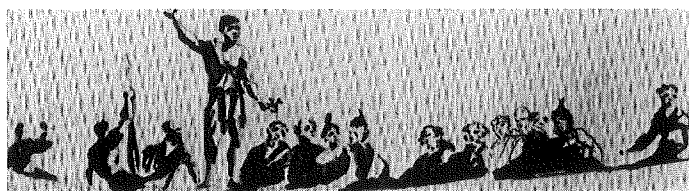


Figure 6.11 Hodges, blot image

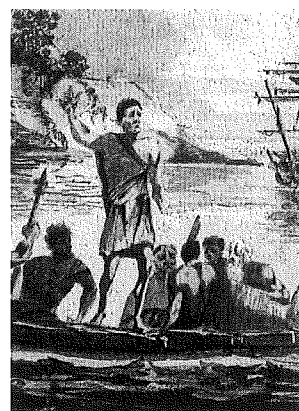


Figure 6.12 Hodges, detail of developed figure

Oratory is recognised as a Maori art form,⁴⁰ but the range of postures available to a standing speaker in a waka is restricted. Rather than depicting the formal drapery and dignified stance of the *adlocutio*, reflecting the perpetuity and power

³⁷ Hodges, *Maoris in a canoe*, June 1773. British Museum, Department of Prints and Drawings, London.

³⁸ Hodges, *A party of Maoris in a canoe*, after June 1773, La Trobe Library, State Library of Victoria, Melbourne.

³⁹ Joppien and Smith, Vol. 2, p.50.

⁴⁰ Ngahuia Te Awakotuku, 1996. 'Maori: People and Culture' in *Maori: Art and Culture*. Ed.D.C. Starzecka, British Museum Press, London. p. 46.

of Roman authority, Hodges used the diagonal swing of fabric to demonstrate the movement and energy of the orator as he balances with *both knees flexed* aboard the waka.

Other work by Hodges included head and shoulder portraits of Maori. His portrait *Maori man with bushy hair* shows his subject with the pliable cloth of a light-weight garment worn beneath the outer clothing (Figure 6.13).⁴¹ The pleated cloth crosses the wearer's shoulder in the same style as that of Parkinson's central figure in *New Zealanders Fishing*, demonstrating that this was a continuing fashion.



Figure 6.13 Hodges, Maori man with bushy hair.

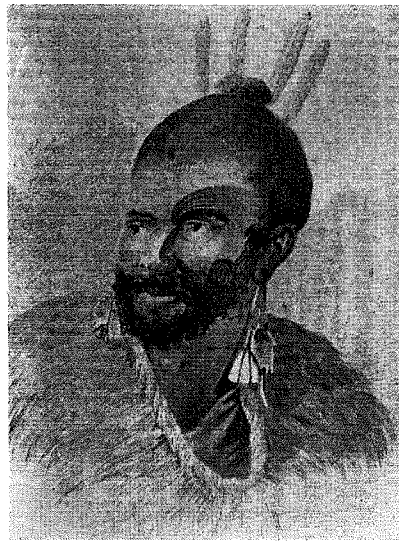


Figure 6.14 Webber, *A Portrait of the Chief Kahura*, [Kahoura].

WEBBER'S EVIDENCE

Like Parkinson and Hodges before him, the Swiss-born Webber showed Maori in draped garments. His *Portrait of the Chief Kahura* shows a soft draping cloth worn underneath the chief's outer garment (Figure 6.14).⁴² More importantly, Webber provides the final clue to the draped garment first shown by Gilsemans.

⁴¹ Hodges, *Maori man with bushy hair*, c. May 1773, chalk, National Library of Canberra. Webber, *A Portrait of the Chief Kahura*, [Kahoura] February 1777, pen and wash, with faint tints of water-colour, Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. Pe 214.

⁴² Webber, *A Portrait of the Chief Kahura*, [Kahoura] February 1777, pen and wash, with faint tints of water-colour, Dixon Library, State Library of New South Wales, Sydney. Pe 214.

In his Queen Charlotte Sound study entitled *Maori Huts*,⁴³ Webber showed clusters of people grouped around their temporary shelters (Figure 6.15).

A male figure stands at the extreme left, with his back to the viewer (Figure 6.16). He wears a knee-length, belted garment that consists of cloth wrapped around his body. The fabric appears to cross over above the wearer's shoulder blades, it pouches at his waist, seemingly over a belt. The hemline has an irregular shaped, decorative border, that suggests bunches of fur attached at intervals. This image is the only example of this type of garment that Webber shows. Its form suggested some similarities with the torso profile cross-over that was previously depicted by Parkinson, and pointed to the possibility of experimental research.

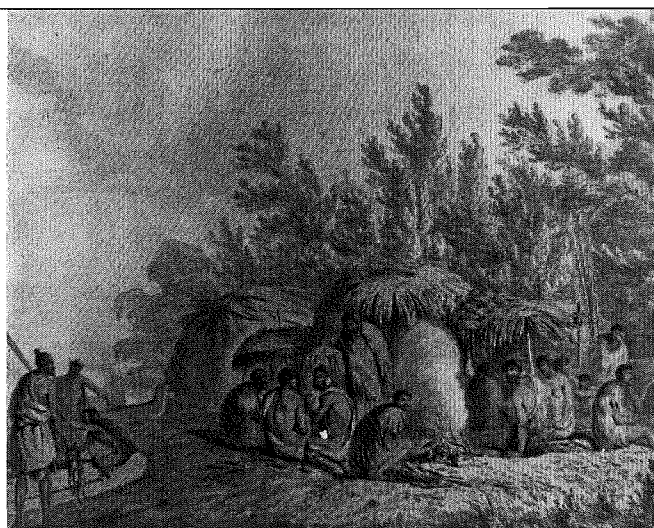


Figure 6.15 Webber, *Maori Huts*.



Figure 6.16 Detail from *Maori Huts*.

⁴³ Webber, *Maori Huts*, February 1777, pen, wash and watercolour, Knatchbull Collection, Ashford, Kent.

SECTION E: Empirical process

Although a number of Cook's officers described the Maori wrapped garment, their documentary evidence was not precise enough to enable the style to be reproduced.⁴⁴ A re-examination of evidence from the four graphic artists provided additional information. The synthesis of this evidence provided the foundation for an empirical procedure to reconstruct the style. Using a small doll as a model, experiments were made draping rectangles of various types directly onto the doll. Experiments showed that some of the styles shown by Parkinson consisted of two parts, a waist garment, and a shoulder garment. These methods were not able to reproduce the style observed at Queen Charlotte Sound (Figure 6.17).

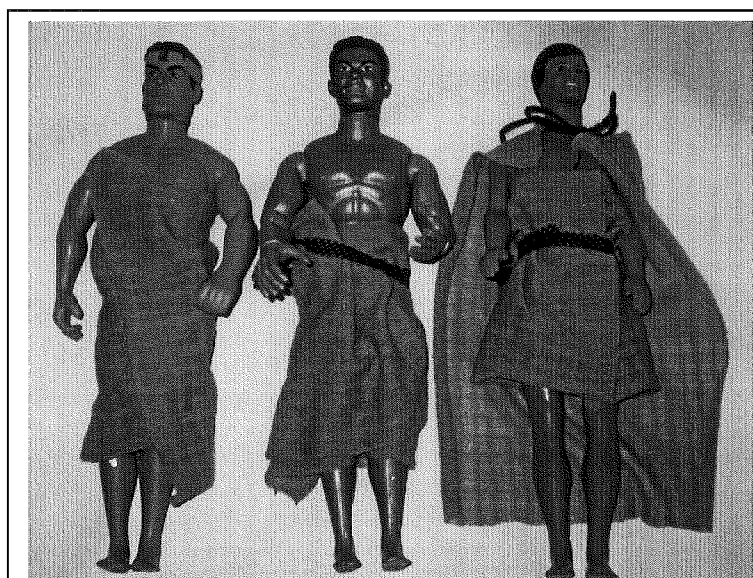


Figure 6.17 Experimental draping of figures to achieve styles depicted by Parkinson.

Further experiments demonstrated that a larger piece of cloth was required. In order to replicate the two corners of cloth that were brought across the shoulders to fasten on the chest (as shown in the graphic images) the cloth had first to be wound around the body and crossed over at the back. This 'crossover' was in accord with the graphic evidence of both Parkinson and Webber, and the rectangular shape of the cloth conformed with the documentary evidence of contemporary texts (Figure 6.18).

⁴⁴ Cook mentions 'other much finer clothing' than the 'thrum'd matts', *Beaglehole Vol 1*, p.279. Cf. Monkhouse in *Beaglehole Vol 1*, p. 566, Anderson in *Beaglehole Vol 3*, pp 809-810, Burney, 1975. p. 52.

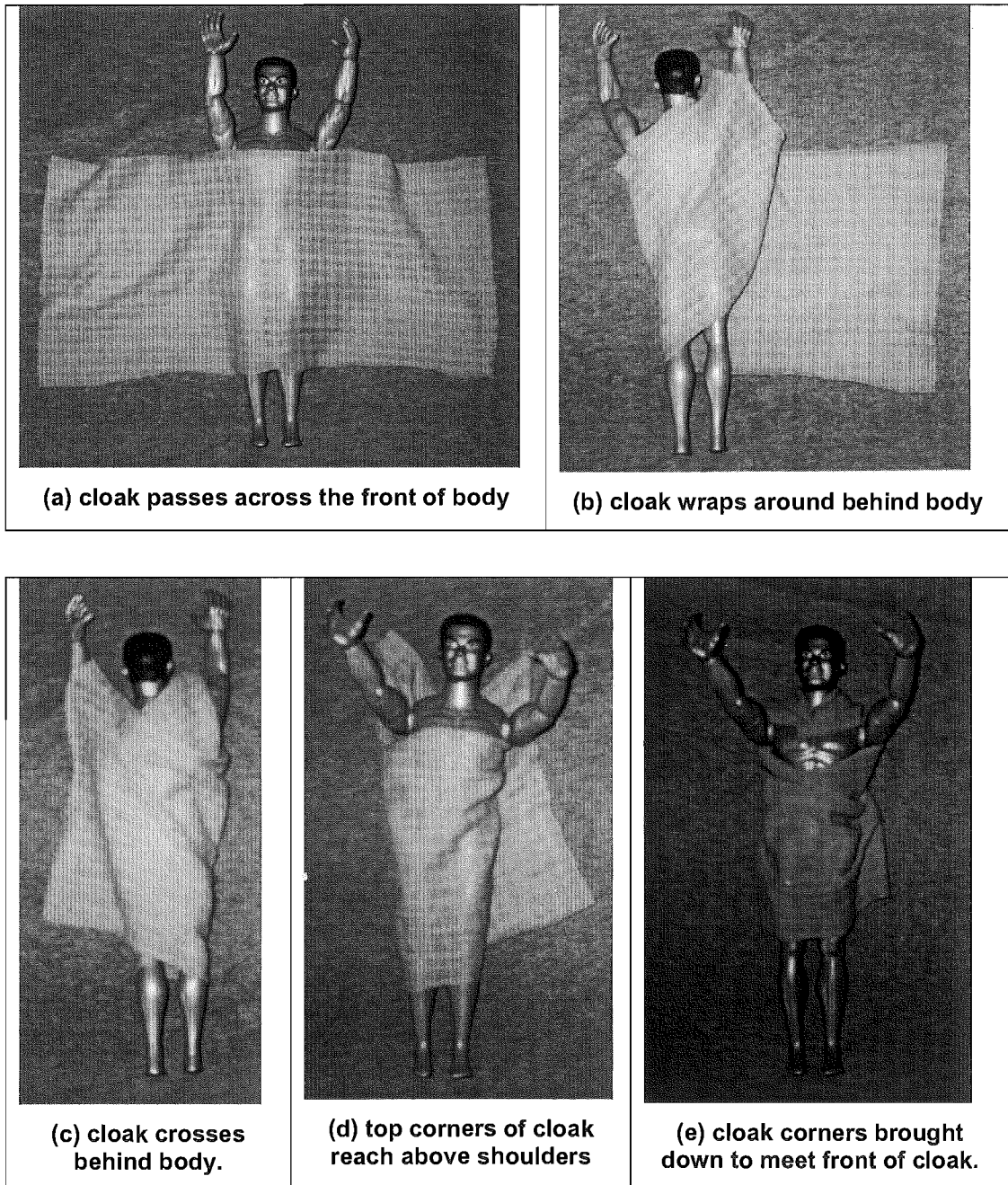


Figure 6.18 Empirical process of reconstructing method of wearing cloaks as seen at Queen Charlotte Sound.

Following the success of the experimental model, a life-sized prototype was tested. To establish the size of cloth required, information was taken from a portrait of Banks. On his return to England in 1771, Banks had a souvenir portrait

painted by Benjamin West (Figure 6.19).⁴⁵ He was portrayed wearing a kaitaka, and surrounded by the 'artificial curiosities' he had collected his voyage. The cloak is of generous proportions, woven of muka, with a taniko border. As the dimensions of this cloak are not known, and the height and weight of Banks were not available, it was decided to replicate the presentation of his figure in the image. A young man agreed to stand as a model, and was draped with a length of cloth that resembled the size and drape of the cloak worn by Banks (figures 6.20 to 6.21). The cloth selected was a mid-weight, textured, knitted sweat-shirt fabric, that was similar in weight and drape to woven harakeke as previously described by Monkhouse for a similar garment (refer p. 219); the dimensions were 215 cm by 115 cm, comparable to the average dimensions (213 cm by 161 cm) of the large cloaks listed previously (refer p. 216).



Figure 6.19 Benjamin West, portrait of Joseph Banks.

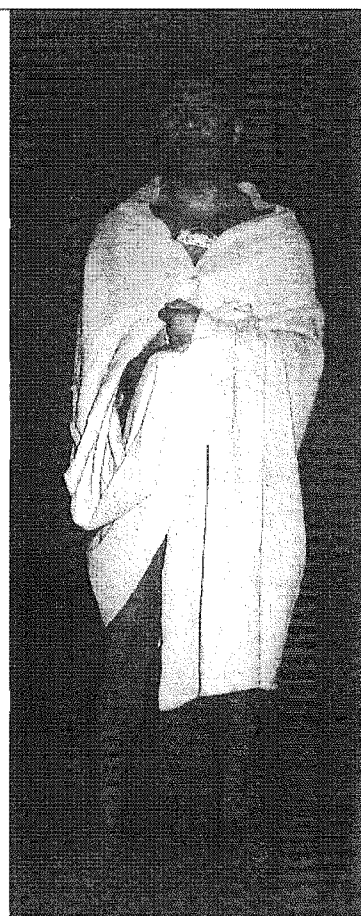
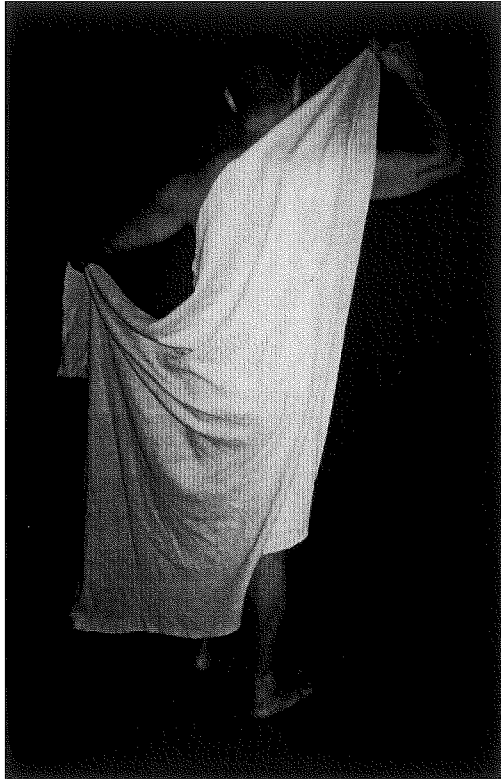
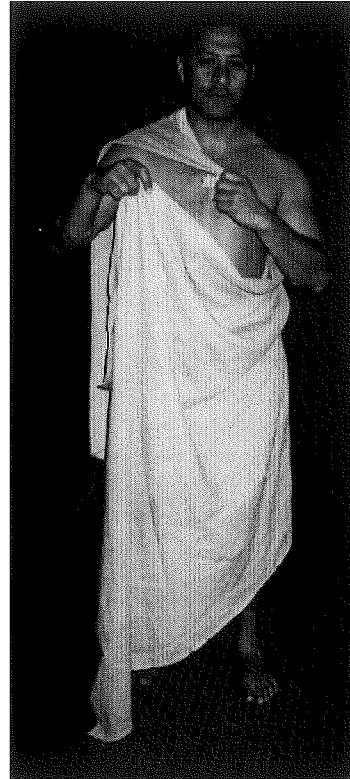


Figure 6.20 Comparison of cloak size for experimental purposes.

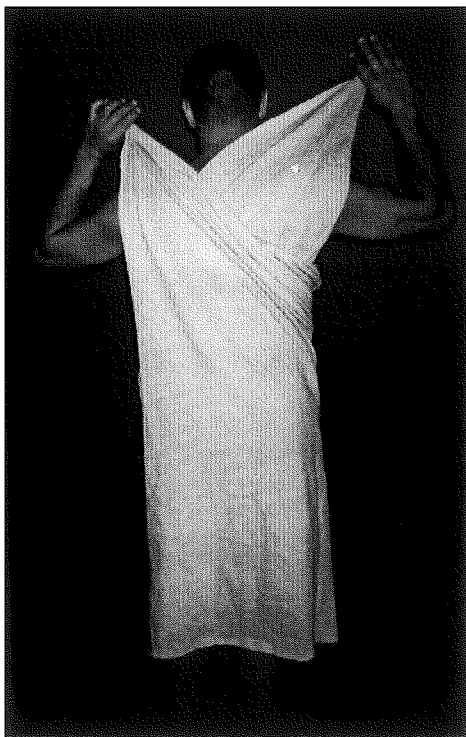
⁴⁵ Benjamin West, *Joseph Banks*, 1771, oil on canvas, (Lincoln: Usher Gallery). See Smith, 1992, p. 42.



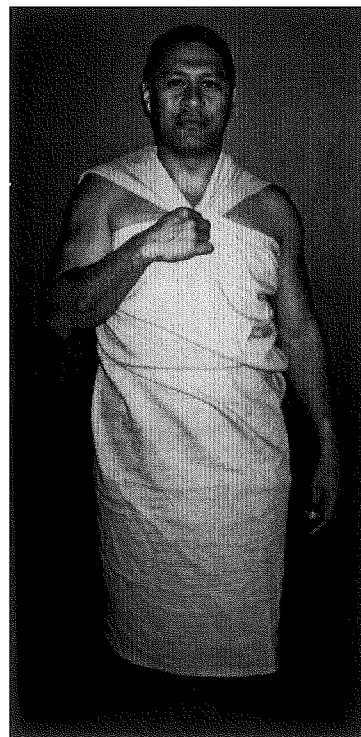
Step 1



Step 2



Step 3.



Step 4.

Figure 6.21 The process of putting on the wrapped garment.

To re-create the wrapped garment, the procedure required the model to follow four steps:

1. Hold the right top corner of the cloth in the right hand, above the right shoulder, with the excess cloth passing to the left, behind the body.
2. Pass the surplus cloth under the left arm, and wrap across the front of the body.
3. Continue to wrap the cloth around the body by passing under the right arm and crossing the back a second time. The left top corner of the cloth finishes in the left hand, above the left shoulder.
4. Bring the two corners down across the shoulders to fasten at the centre front.

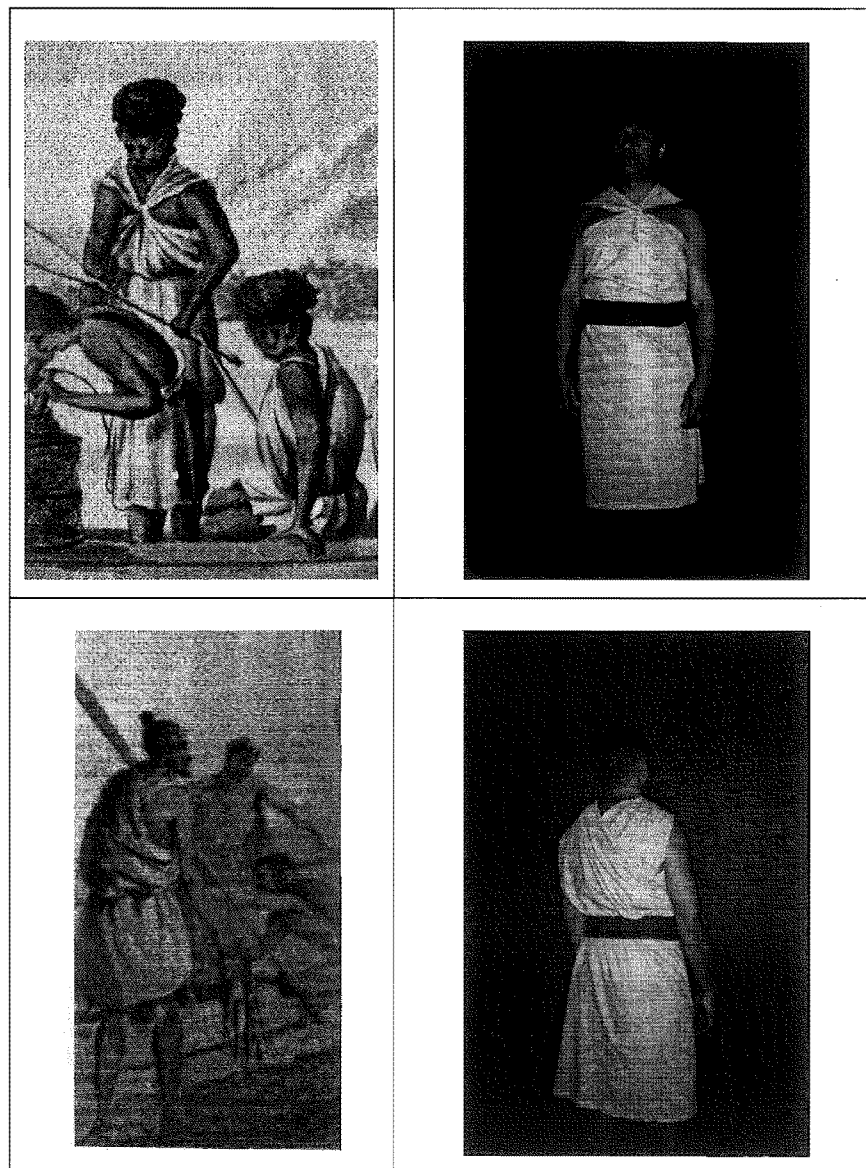


Figure 6.22 Comparisons of prototype with Parkinson and Webber figures.

The experiment was completed within a few moments, without any complications. The trial garment was fastened with a paper-clip in place of an *au rei* or bone pin, and a second piece of fabric was used as a belt. The mysterious item of apparel turned out to be not a different garment, but rather, a familiar garment worn in a different way. A parallel can be seen in the *arisaid*, the large, versatile, rectangular, woven Scottish plaid, that was used in a number of different methods.

From Gilsemans's representation it is clear that the garment was worn about thigh length and surplus fabric was folded into a single pleat at the centre front.

Parkinson's and Webber's figures show that in Cook's time, the garment was about knee length and worn with a belt. The front view of the reconstruction shows that lines initially presumed to indicate fullness in Parkinson's image instead indicate fabric strain on the wearer, while the rear view of the garment replicates Webber's image (Figure 6.22).

CONCLUSION

Of the three major researchers of Maori dress, Roth came closest to discovering the truth about the wrapped garment, although he was distracted by what he saw as limitations of the *whatu* technique. He stated that:

an examination of the twined work [of Maori] does not lend itself easily to the making of such an elementary garment as the well fitting tunic shown by Tasman.... This tunic, illustrated by Tasman, appears to me, judging by subsequent evidence, to be a distorted view of the article more correctly drawn by Cook's artist where we have a fairly rectangular piece of cloth two corners of which are brought over the shoulders and pinned together to the sides which are brought forward under the arms.⁴⁶

Buck did not appear to give the garment any consideration. He stated that there were three methods of wearing cloaks:

The common method on state occasions was to wear the garment over both shoulders. Two cords are attached to the upper border towards the sides. These are tied over the right shoulder, the opening between the sides of the cloak being to the right, and the right arm being free.

Another method was to bring the cloak under the left armpit, and tie over the right shoulder as above. In this case both arms are free, but only one shoulder was exposed, so that this method is termed *tumu-tahi*, one shoulder....The garment was also tied around the waist.

Another mode was to have the opening to the front, the upper part being open and the lower belted round the waist. This enabled both hands to be used, and was termed *tumaru*, two shoulders.⁴⁷

Mead had disposed of Tasman's description of Maori dress on the basis that it was 'so sketchy' he believed it supplied little usable information. There is no

⁴⁶ Roth, p. 15.

⁴⁷ Buck, p. 88.

evidence that he gave any consideration to the illustration of 'the appearance of the local people' that accompanies Tasman's text.⁴⁸ In discussing the range of clothing, and commencing with Tasman's description in 1642, Mead had stated that Maori 'of this period apparently wore cloaks of near rectangular shapes which were made of flax'.⁴⁹ However, whether he was alluding to the Tasman period or to the time of Cook's first voyage is unclear. His paragraph followed with Bank's description:

"Of these pieces of cloth 2 serve for a compleat dress one of which is tied over the shoulders and reaches to their knees, the other about the waist reaches near the ground."

Mead offered no further indication of how this garment was worn. In fact, with regard to the specimen collected by Banks he stated that 'it is not clear how the garment was worn'.⁵⁰ Although his research of the period referred consistently to the work of Parkinson, it appears that in his analysis of the contemporary European artists in New Zealand waters, and particularly in the Queen Charlotte Sound locality, that Mead overlooked a significant element of pre-nineteenth century Maori dress.

The academic analyses of art historians with their allusions of classicism also failed to recognise the significance of these pre-nineteenth century European images of Maori. When four different artists of diverse training and nationality continue to produce something similar over a period of 135 years, one must believe that they were drawing what they were seeing, and not merely influenced by the various academic dictates of their respective ages. The observations of the graphic artists have proven reliable and their documentary images have enabled the recovery of a pre-contact form of Maori dress.

The wearing of the wrapped kaitaka shows some changes over the period of 135 years during which it was depicted by European artists. From Gilsemans's representation it is clear that it was worn about thigh length, without a belt, and surplus fabric was folded into a single pleat at the centre front. Parkinson's and Webber's figures show that by Cook's time, the garment was about knee length, and worn with a belt. More significantly, during the mid-seventeenth century, this style was worn by a tribal leader. By the latter part of the eighteenth century this no longer seems to be the case. The figures portrayed by Parkinson, and that on the margin of Webber's *Maori Huts* image do not emanate high status, thereby

⁴⁸ Mead, 1969, pp.16-18, 44-45.

⁴⁹ Mead, 1969, p. 45.

⁵⁰ Mead, 1969, p. 59.

advising that the garment is no longer exclusive. It seems that after the wrapped style was adopted by other members of Maori society it eventually passed out of fashion. There are no further descriptions of Maori wearing their wrapped kaitaka from other British voyages or from the Russian expedition. Speculation suggests that this may reflect the changes that Maori would soon experience as a result of European contact.

CHAPTER 7 CONCLUSION

This thesis has shown that the conventional perception of traditional Maori dress is incomplete, and has demonstrated that prior to 1820, Maori dress was more heterogeneous and complex than generally recognised, by recovering evidence of a range of ephemeral and perishable elements forgotten or overlooked by previous research. Much of the evidence examined has been available for up to 200 years. Some has been examined in the past, and conclusions formulated and published; however, advances in technology have allowed some material to be scrutinised more closely in this study than was previously possible. At the same time, some evidence was ignored, being considered irrelevant or inaccurate. Other material was completely overlooked, never having been identified as potential evidence. It was assumed that what had been studied was all there was to know, whereas in fact, this research shows that only a fraction of the evidence has been systematically analysed.

The synthesis of data from diverse sources in this examination of evidence has uncovered a plethora of information. Despite the ephemeral and perishable nature of the components of dress under scrutiny, this research has recovered significant features of the way Maori created their appearance. It has exposed the stereotypical 'topknot' as concealing a variety of different hairstyles, and disclosed the hirsute Maori; it has revealed forgotten feathered and botanical forms of head dress; it has rediscovered a range of bird, seal and dogskin garments and associated sewing technology; and it has revalidated and reconstructed a forgotten method of wearing kaitaka. It has established that traditional Maori dress was much more varied and sophisticated than previously acknowledged; and in doing so, the research has also allowed small glimpses of the functioning of contemporary Maori society.

PRELIMINARY FINDINGS

A vast pool of hitherto untapped ethnological data has been identified through the demonstration that early European graphic images of Maori are not only trustworthy but make a significant contribution to our current knowledge of traditional dress. Evidence shows that early European exploration in the Pacific between the mid seventeenth and early nineteenth centuries always had a specific underlying commercial or scientific objective. The expeditionary parent bodies expected full and complete documentation at the completion of such

voyages. Because graphic evidence became an important part of the documentary process, the selection of suitably skilled, reliable graphic artists was shown to be of paramount importance. By examining the governing criteria and investigating whether their work met those requirements, this research has verified the artistic integrity of the draughtsmen. Dutch contemporary evidence shows that Gilsemans drew within the conventions of his era; but his graphic evidence of maro and tatua, otherwise undocumented, testify to the accuracy of his keen observation, while his topographical evidence certifies that he was a competent draughtsman. The combination of these factors suggests that when Gilsemans drew large heads on his figures of the local people at Golden Bay, it was because he saw heads that somehow seemed to be larger than usual. Research has shown that the apparent largeness of these heads can be explained by the structure of traditional male hairstyles. Likewise, when Gilsemans drew the garment of the Maori leader, he was depicting a genuine item of apparel as he saw it.

While all three of Cook's graphic artists, Parkinson, Hodges and Webber, had varying degrees of skill in portraying the human form, and although the artistic conventions of their era had the potential to influence the correctness of their imagery, the reliability of their fieldwork remains clear. The unchallenged accuracy of Parkinson's botanical drawings testifies to his expertise at conveying texture, a skill as applicable in the depiction of textiles as to botanical specimens. Parkinson's interest in the newly discovered Pacific inhabitants as real people rather than mere objects of study was established by Joppein and Smith; his empirical studies of Maori were for himself rather than for his employer Banks. Although Hodges developed work for exhibition after his return to Britain, in general only his field studies of Maori have been utilised in this research; and while the work of Webber incorporated elements of mannerist style, the research shows that there is nothing to suggest that the components of his representations were less than factual.

Despite lack of evidence of Mikhaylov's training, the few published studies of his work appear to present realistic imagery. Similarly, his reproduced compositions have not aroused concern; the major impediment to research offered by Mikhaylov's work has been its lack of accessibility. Nonetheless, it has been shown that each of the graphic artists, when examined in conjunction with evidence from traditional and material sources (including aspects of Maori art

history), sought to provide accurate representations of Maori in their field studies; unconsciously furnishing ethnological data of hairstyle, headdress and garments at the same time.

The analysis of evidence relating to hairstyle re-establishes the diversity of traditional male styles, utterly discrediting the stereotypical archetype that has been preserved for more than 150 years. Amalgamating the diverse forms of evidence revealed that instead of the omnipresent 'topknot' of Buck and Mead, the hairstyles of Maori men included a collection of specifically identified styles, many of which conveyed particular meanings in traditional society. Oral sources suggested nine various styles, differentiating between knots and bunches of long hair and including untied loose hair, but although a total of fourteen names of style were recovered, the styles could not always be identified. Further, observation that the man seen at Dusky Bay had his hair tied in multiple tufts infers that isolated regions may have been less susceptible to the influences of change and fashion.

Evidence showed irrefutably that the wearing of certain hairstyles was a non-verbal method of communicating various statuses. Data from documentary and graphic sources of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries show the continuity of traditional evidence, in which tied hairstyles indicated rank; but the observations of members of Cook's expeditions also identified some regional variations of style, suggesting a practice which may have once been more widespread. The rationale for the propensity of short hairstyles that they recorded is less obvious, although speculation suggests that closely cut hair could indicate mourning. However although the British noted that the hair of most women was worn short, they also recorded that long, loose hair was worn by some older women even though it was seldom tied.

While there was noticeably less data about women's hairstyles, the evidence presented indicates that certain women also wore their hair in different styles including some knotted or tied variations that have formerly been thought to be exclusive to men. However, that these women seem to have been important ancestral figures supports the same concept of visual communication, their long tied or knotted hair manifesting their prominent rank. The comparative lack of evidence of women's hairstyles suggests that the role of women was largely imperceptible during the period the material was collected.

In contrast to the lack of information about women's hairstyles, there is indisputable evidence of Maori wearing beards. While oral tradition provided little detail, the evidence of six graphic artists covering a span of 178 years clearly established that adult male Maori were often, albeit sparsely, bearded. Their depictions were generally supported by contemporary journal evidence including that of eighteenth century French expeditions.

As with discoveries regarding hairstyle, the investigation of ephemeral hair ornament signalled the richness and diversity of customary practices that have passed out of usage. Traditional evidence affirms the esteem accorded the legendary *raukura* over all other types of head adornment; but while all *raukura* may not have been identical, the descriptions of Shand and Smith have enabled some speculation as to a possible form which may have some relationship to the tall unidentified ornament depicted in the graphic evidence of Parkinson. Evidence also brought to light the variety of mourning caps that were once in use, and recalls the use of entire bird-tails such as the *huia*. It shows that the variety of alternatives included a wide range of feather choices, as well as some prestigious botanical species; a noteworthy example of this being authenticated by the graphic evidence of Mikhaylov served to implement the recovery of a unique form of female head adornment.

By contrast, without the assistance of graphic evidence, a long and complex history of Maori use of skins as elements of traditional dress has been revealed. Traditional evidence shows the diversity of skins that were used; despite difficulties caused by obscure terminology, it is clear that rather than using dogskin exclusively, Maori made more use of bird skins and sealskin than has been appreciated in the past. This conclusion is supported by material evidence which exposes a range of forgotten textile technologies. While there is negligible proof of how Maori prepared skins for use, there is substantial evidence of a range of well-developed stitching techniques that have never been methodically examined before. Two distinctively dissimilar stitching techniques, and variations in the types of seam discovered in the material evidence, shows differences in practice between the North and South Islands that support the theory of culture areas in New Zealand as expressed by Skinner in 1921. Additional material evidence shows processes in the development of Maori weaving. The introduction of empirical procedures to test the viability of the chequered dogskin cloak image attributed to Parkinson, successfully established that the line and

flare depicted were feasible, while the analysis of material evidence proves that Maori had the technical ability to create this unusual garment.

The validation of the unfamiliar garment worn by Gilsemans's Maori leader at Murderers Bay and by Parkinson's *New Zealanders Fishing* figures at Queen Charlotte Sound, was achieved by the analysis of images by four different graphic artists combined with further empirical procedures. Although documentary evidence from the Cook journals was available, it required identification of the additional evidence of Webber's figure to allow the method of wearing to be recovered. The empirical process revealed the proportions of cloth required for the style and thereby supplied a rationale for the large dimensions of some of the cloaks that are found in international collections.

SIGNIFICANCE AND IMPLICATIONS

The significance and implications of this research have far-reaching effects beyond its initial anticipated recovery of Maori cultural heritage. Important as the rediscovered elements of dress have proved to be, the synthesis of different forms of evidence has produced a range of additional unexpected outcomes. The integration of oral tradition, graphic, material and documentary sources produces new evidence alongside new ways of interpreting evidence.

The introduction of traditional evidence in each section of the examination provides a Maori voice which is frequently strengthened with the addition of successive forms of evidence as fresh perspectives provide new insights into the meaning and potential significance of legends and historical events. The end result offers corroboration of aspects of Maori lore that have not always been given credence in the past.

The validation of the work of the early European graphic artists in and around New Zealand has produced a new resource of ethnological data for indigenous research in the wider Pacific. Simultaneously, it has highlighted the importance of tracing and analysing the remaining empirical studies of Mikhaylov that are currently held in Russia, as well as the possible New Zealand related works of contemporary French graphic artists, such as A. Chazal, L. Le Breton, F. Lejeune, Piron and others.

The examination of material evidence has revealed a major loss of Maori technological skill needs to be investigated. Interactive research with other cultures which have retained knowledge of their neolithic technology would be useful to assist in trying to recover Maori practices. At present, the significance of differences between traditional sewing techniques of North and South Island regions is unknown. Similarly, the implications of potential links with other Polynesian cultures remain to be explored. The opportunities for collaboration between students of Maori culture, anthropologists and archaeologists in New Zealand are yet to be developed.

The introduction of empirical procedures that employ clothing and textile technology have demonstrated the potential for scholarly research to move beyond the customary academic boundaries. This is particularly pertinent for practical rather than purely theoretical research. When combined with the application of multidisciplinary research, the possibilities of achieving new knowledge are greatly enhanced.

Most significantly, however, this research adds more information to our knowledge of Maori society at the point of European contact, and before. The synthesis of evidence challenges previous assumptions, providing new insights into Maori values and concepts of dress. Important among these is the role of elements of traditional Maori dress as tacit means of communication, indicating not only economic wealth and status but also personal identification, regional affiliation, and other social messages such as bereavement. Items of dress held personal agency and demonstrated an extension of the owner, all of which could be interpreted within Maori society. Used simultaneously, they demonstrated a Maori perception of creating appropriate appearance for special occasions, thereby communicating the importance of that occasion. However, the wrapped garment reveals more about pre-contact society, demonstrating the existence of a concept of fashion. While the garment communicated chiefly status in 1642, when worn by numbers of people in 1770 it had obviously ceased to be an indication of rank; in comparison, by 1779, that only one figure is depicted wearing this style suggests that fashions are changing and this mode is passing out of favour. At the same time, evidence offers new insights into Maori values through their attitude towards trading prestigious dogskin cloaks. Although exploring Europeans successfully traded numbers of cloaks with small amounts of dogskin trimming, they acquired

remarkably few cloaks entirely covered with skin, and apparently not one garment of stitched pelts.

For thirty years it has seemed that there was nothing new that could be added to our knowledge of traditional Maori dress. When Mead published his comprehensive work, *Traditional Maori Clothing: A Study of Technological and Functional Change* in 1969, it provided an apparently definitive response to any question that might be raised on the topic. There has been a perception that the nature of traditional Maori dress has been long established, accompanying the notion that 'tradition' implies something is old, static, and passed down from generation to generation without critical re-evaluation, change or further development.¹

However, the application of a multidisciplinary approach has enabled this research to overturn that perception, and contribute fresh information to existing scholarship. By challenging accepted art historical analyses of the graphic evidence, and subjecting this evidence to rigorous evaluation for its content rather than its style, the research has discovered valuable new information. Applying specialist knowledge of the construction of dress to this new data, together with scrupulous analysis of material evidence, has produced exciting new findings, and the synthesis of these methods has enabled this thesis to rediscover forgotten elements of pre-1820 traditional Maori dress.

¹ R. Coombe, *The Properties of Culture and the Politics of Possessing Identity: Native Claims in the Cultural Appropriation Controversy*. 1993. p.458.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A: INFLUENCES ON TASMAN'S DRAUGHTSMAN

There is no information on the training of the graphic artist of Tasman's voyage. However, an examination of sixteenth- and seventeenth century art in the Netherlands reveals a range of potential artists and draughtsmen whose work may have influenced Gilsemans and his contemporaries. One such influence may come from the work of Pieter Janszoon Saenredam (1597-1665).¹

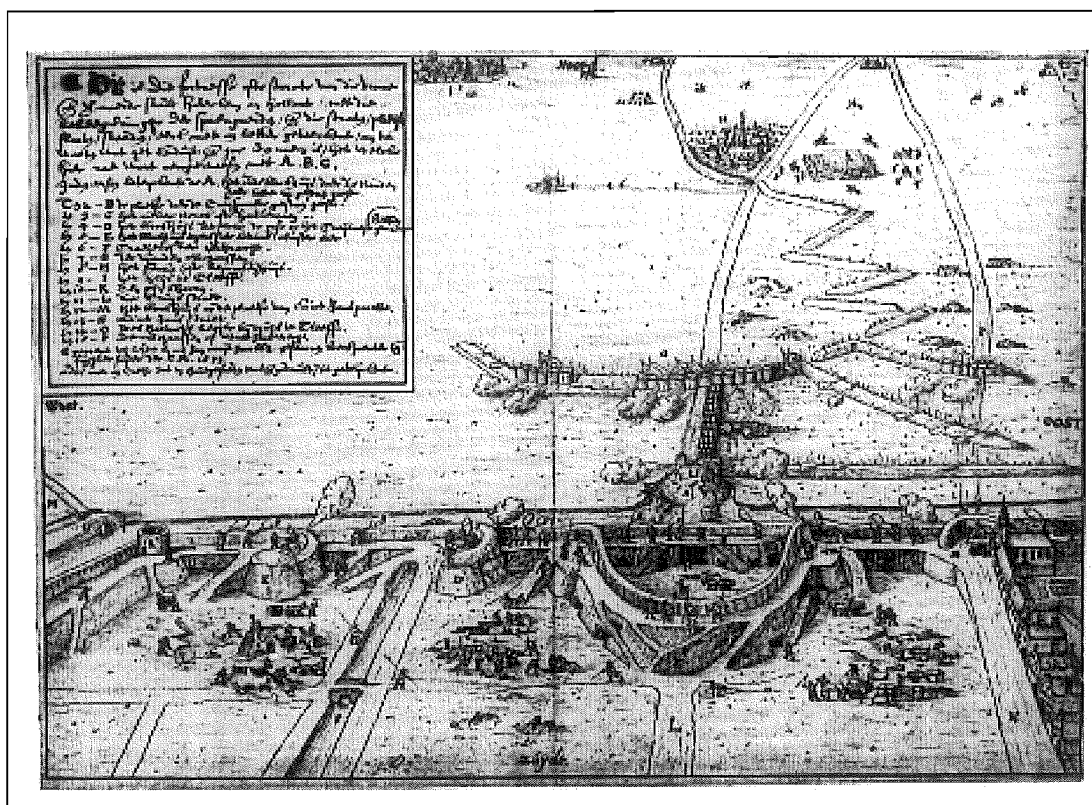


Figure A 2.1 Peiter Saenredam (?) after a printed map by Jan Moijt Jacobsz, North wall of Haarlem, near the Kruispoort, seen from the positions of the defender during the Spanish siege of 1572-73.

In 1628, Saenredam illustrated a history of Haarlem, a book entitled *Beschryvinge ende Lof der Stad Haerlem in Holland* (Description and praise of the city of Haarlem in Holland) by Samuel Ampzing. The illustrations consisted of various

¹ Saenredam, the son of the highly skilled engraver Jan Saenredam, came from the village of Assendelft, on the road from Krommenie to Haarlem. He became a pupil of Frans Pietersz. De Grebber in Haarlem, in 1612 at the age of fourteen. After eleven years, in 1623, he was inscribed as a free master in the book of the guild of St Luke in Haarlem. After 1631 he ceased printmaking and ultimately, became recognised for his expertise in the use and manipulation of perspective in his paintings of the elegant and austere interiors of Dutch Reformed churches. Saenredam's art has been described as one of eye, memory, observation and intellect.

maps and bird's-eye views of the city.² Saenredam used drawings dating from 1573, as the basis for his views of the city from various aspects. The use of a high viewpoint was problematic in a virtually flat landscape, but the importance of maps for military purposes had found ways to resolve such difficulties. These solutions were included in an etching by Niclaus Liefvinx of *'The siege of Haarlem,'*³ (Figure A 2.2) and a printed map of Jan Moijt Jacobsz, *North wall of Haarlem, near the Kruispoort, seen from the positions of the defender during the Spanish siege of 1572-73* (Figure A 2.1).⁴

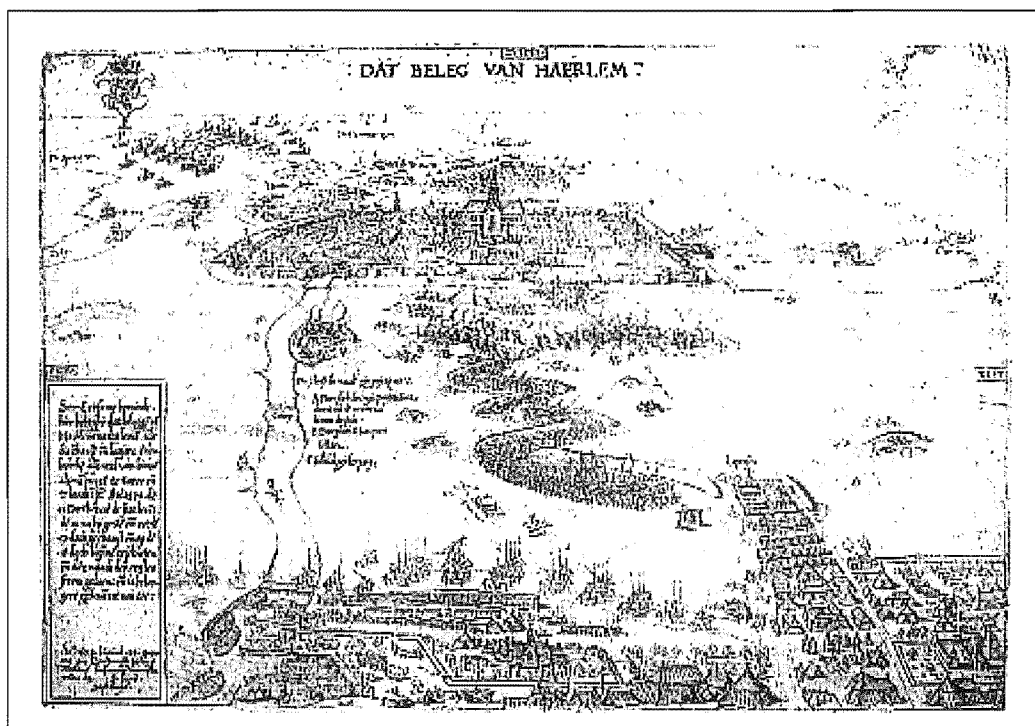


Figure A 2.2 Niclaus Liefvinx, 1573. *The siege of Haarlem.*

In these maps, and to a lesser degree in Saenredam's original work, *The Spaarne flowing into Haarlem from the south*,⁵ (Figure A 2.3) a high viewpoint is utilised to gain a panoramic view. The Harlem history was published six years before Gilsemans sailed east; the graphic artist employed the same technique of high viewpoint and planar composition in the expeditionary drawings that combined both topographical feature and indigenous peoples.

² Gary Schwartz, and Marten Jan Bok, 1990. *Pieter Saenredam : The Painter and His Time*. SDU Maarssen, The Hague. p. 9, pp. 35-43.

³ Niclaus Liefvinx, 1573. *The siege of Haarlem*. Etching, 28.1x 41.1 cm. Haarlem, Municipal Archives. CAT.NRS. 194-5.

⁴ Ref. Schwartz and Bok, pp. 36-39, Figs. 22-31.

⁵ Saenredam (draftsman), Jan van de Velde (etcher), 1628.. *The Spaarne flowing into Haarlem from the south*. Atching, 16.1x23.4 cm. Haarle, Municipal Archives. CAT.NR 178.



Figure A 2.3 Etching after Pieter Saenredam, 1628. *The Spaarne flowing into Haarlem from the south.*

A second potential influence on the draughtsman's work comes from the established Dutch artists of the period preceding the expedition. The social, religious and political environment of the seventeenth century in the Netherlands had seen the development of the Dutch school of Art in the North as it became the richest trading nation in the world.⁶ There was a thriving industry in etching and print-making. Contemporary English travellers commented on the exuberant use of art and pictures in Dutch homes and places of work.⁷ Gilsemans had grown up in this era of new national self consciousness, and was a citizen of the northern city of Rotterdam in 1633. It is therefore highly probable that Gilsemans was familiar with the work of contemporary Dutch artists.

⁶ J.M. Nash, 1972. *The Age of Rembrandt and Vermeer : Dutch painting in the seventeenth century.* Phaidon Press Limited, London, pp. 7-10.

⁷ Nash, p. 55, quoting Peter Mundy, *Travels in Europe, 1639-47.* The travels of Peter Mundy in Europe and Asia, 1608-1667, edited by Sir Richard Carnac Temple, Vol. 4, London, 1925, and John Evelyn, *The Diary of John Evelyn* (available in several editions), entry for 13 August 1641.

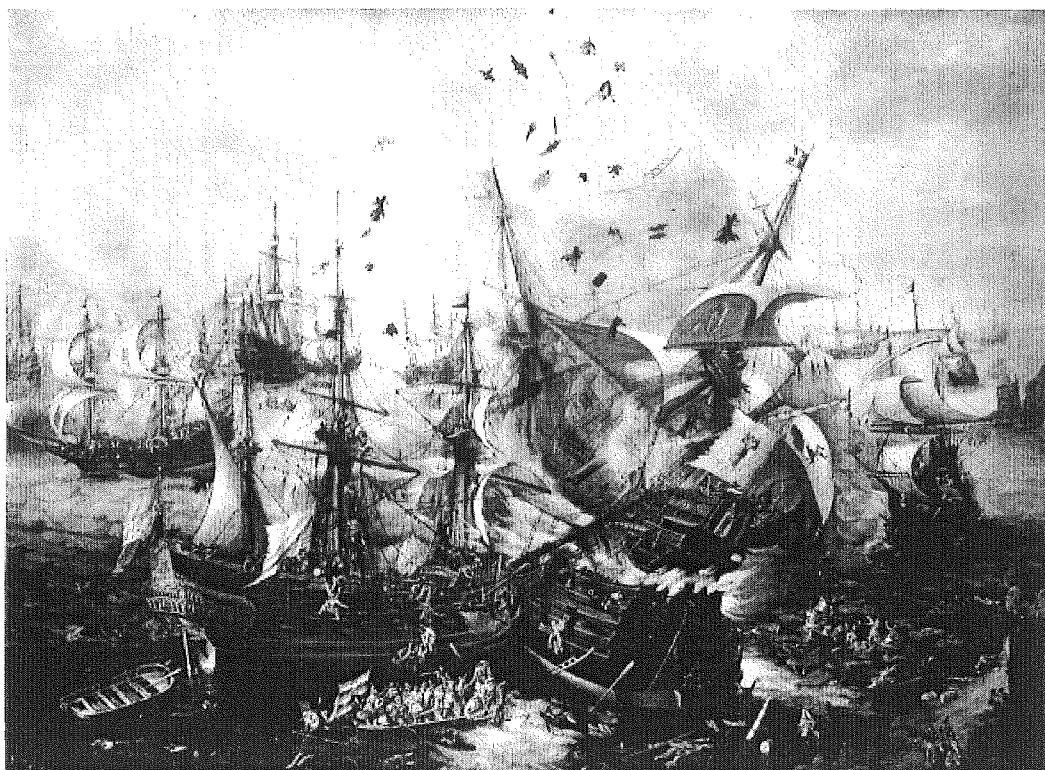


Figure A 2.4 Hendrick Vroom (1566-1640): *Battle of Gibraltar, 25 April 1607*, Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

One major artist whose work was likely to be familiar to men with careers at sea was Hendrick Vroom, instigator of the great Dutch tradition of painted of sea-battles and maritime pageants. Vroom's work entitled *Battle of Gibraltar, 25 April 1607*,⁸ records a Dutch victory over the Spanish fleet (Figure A 2.4). The composition shows the explosive encounter between two major vessels, a Dutch ship ramming the Spanish flagship, with two smaller boats nearby. The first is an overcrowded row-boat in the thick of the activity; the second, a small empty dinghy with shipped oars, trailing behind the Dutch vessel. The central elements in the composition of the Murderers' Bay incident show some similarity to this work of Vroom.

A second work of Vroom may also have influenced Gilsemans or the draughtsman. This work painted in 1623, *The Arrival in May 1613 of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, at Flushing, with his consort Elisabeth, Daughter of James I of England*, includes a detail showing puffs of cannon smoke coming from the approaching vessel (Figure A 2.5).⁹ Similar puffs of smoke signify the cannons of

⁸ Hendrick Vroom (1566-1640). *Battle of Gibraltar, 25 April 1607*. Canvas, 54 1/8 x 74 in. Amsterdam, Rijksmuseum.

⁹ Hendrick Vroom, 1623. *The Arrival in May 1613 of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, at Flushing, with his consort Elisabeth, Daughter of James I of England*, Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

Heemskerck and Zeehaen firing in the scene at Murderers Bay. Vroom's work was produced when Gilsemans was a young man, and could therefore have been known by him.

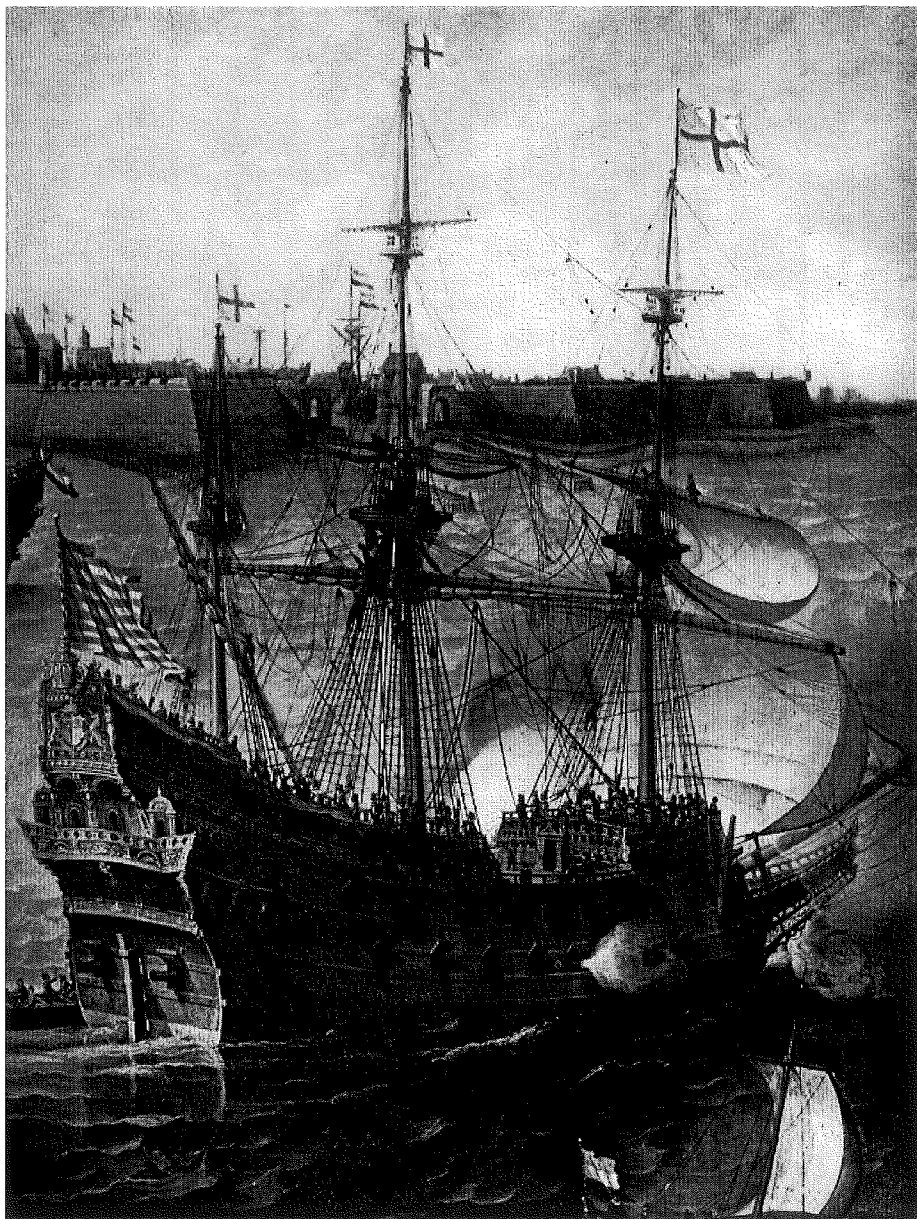


Figure A 2.5 Hendrick Vroom: Detail from The Arrival in May 1613 of Frederick V, Elector Palatine, at Flushing, with his consort Elisabeth, Daughter of James I of England. 1623. Haarlem, Frans Hals Museum.

The graphic artist also had some familiarity with medieval religious art. This is reflected in his application of the narrative form in the Murderers' Bay image, and also in his use of a miniaturised adult figure to portray a child in a later Pacific image, discussed below. These practices were not in common usage in contemporaneous Dutch art.

Familiarity with this range of work such as these examples of Saenredam and Vroom, as well as forms of religious art, implies that the graphic artist had some background of art education. It is his composite use of these ideas that enabled him to incorporate a considerable quantity of information in a single drawing; closer analysis of his work testifies to the accuracy of his observations.

APPENDIX B: ANALYSIS TABLES OF PARKINSON IMAGES.

Table 3.1 Parkinson images, hairstyle overview, studies and portraits

Identification of image	Gender	Hairstyle	'Topknot' position
MS 9345, f.12.	M	Not shown	
MS 23920, f.56.	M	Smooth or double knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.55 <i>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</i>	M	Double knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.60 (a)	F? M?	(hair covered)	
MS 23920, f.60 (b)	M	Smooth or doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.60 (c)	M	doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.60 (d)	M	Short splayed tuft	Crown
MS 23920, f.60 (e)	M	Doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.60.(f)	F	Short hair	
MS 23920, f.62 (a)	F?	Hair covered? Short?	
MS 23920, f.62 (b)	F	Short hair	
MS 23920, f.54 (a) <i>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</i>	M	Small roll	Crown
MS 23920, f.65 (a)	2xM ?	1 x indistinct 1 x hair covered,? short	Crown?
MS 23920, f.65 (b)	2x?	Hair covered	
MS 23920, f.61 (a)	M	Doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.61 (b)	M	Doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.61 (c)	M	Doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.61 (d)	M	Short tuft	Crown
MS 23920, f.61 (e)	M	Doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.61 (f)	M	Thick cropped tuft	Crown
MS 23920, f.63 (a v)	M	Hair totally covered	
MS 23920, f.63 (a)	M	Hair uncertain	
MS 23920, f.63 (b)	M	Small knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.63 (c)	M	Double knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.63 (d)	M	Double knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.63 (e)	M	Indistinct knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.64 (a)	M	Small double knot	Crown
MS 23920, f.64 (b)	M	Small doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.64 (c)	M	Small doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.64 (d)	M	Small doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.64 (e)	M	Small doubleknot	Crown
MS 23920, f.64 (f)	M	Doubleknot	Crown

Table 3.2 Parkinson, hairstyle overview, composite images

Identification	Gender	Hairstyle	Position of 'topknot'
MS 23920, f. 44. <i>New Zealanders Fishing</i> (Queen Charlotte Sound)	7 x m 1 x f? 12 x m in waka taua	2 x small knot, 1 x indistinct, 1 x poss. tied at nape of neck (4 with hair covered) all apparent topknots	Crown Crown
MS 23920, f. 50. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i> <i>bidding defiance to the Ship</i>	23 persons 16 x m 3 x f + 1 ? 1 child 2 obscured	15 x topknots, + 1 x bald? 4 short hair 1 x short hair	Crown
MS 23920, f. 51. <i>The Crew Peaceable</i>	24 persons 10 x m 5 x f 2 x children 7 x gender uncertain	10 x topknots 5 short hair 2 short hair 6 short hair, 1 totally obscured	Crown
MS 23920, f. 49. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	23 persons 13 x m 4 x f 4 x young persons 2 ?f obscured	12 x topknots (+1 obscured) 4 x short hair (1 poss tuft) 4 x short hair 2 x head obscured	Crown
MS 23920, f. 46. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	27 persons 16 x m 4 x f 4 x gender uncertain (2 totally obscured) 1 child	15 (+1 presumed) x topknots 4 x short hair 4 x possible male short hair short hair	Crown

Table 3 3 Parkinson, overview, images showing possible beards

Identification	gender	beard
MS 9345, f.12.	M	No chin shown
MS 23920, f.56.	M	Black wispy
MS 23920, f.55 <i>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</i>	M	None
MS 23920, f.60 (a)	F? M	Yes? Dark wispy?
MS 23920, f.60 (b)	M	dark wispy
MS 23920, f.60 (c)	M	None
MS 23920, f.60 (d)	M	L. moderate, full
MS 23920, f.60 (e)	M	L. moderate, full
MS 23920, f.54 (a) <i>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</i>	M	Black wispy
MS 23920, f.65 (a)	2xM ?	1 x black goatee, 1 x none
MS 23920, f.65 (b)	2x?	2 x none
MS 23920, f.61 (a)	M	Dark wispy
MS 23920, f.61 (b)	M	Dark wispy
MS 23920, f.61 (c)	M	Dark wispy
MS 23920, f.61 (d)	M	L. moderate, full
MS 23920, f.61 (e)	M	Yes, mod full
MS 23920, f.61 (f)	M	None
MS 23920, f.63 (a v)	M	Yes
MS 23920, f.63 (a)	M	Uncertain
MS 23920, f.63 (b)	M	Small but uncertain
MS 23920, f.63 (c)	M	Small
MS 23920, f.63 (d)	M	Small
MS 23920, f.63 (e)	M	None
MS 23920, f.64 (a)	M	Dark point
MS 23920, f.64 (b)	M	Small
MS 23920, f.64 (c)	M	Possibly
MS 23920, f.64 (d)	M	Short
MS 23920, f.64 (e)	M	Slight
MS 23920, f.64 (f)	M	Longer, full

Table 3.4 Parkinson, overview, composite images showing beards

Identification	gender	Beard
MS 23920, f. 44. <i>New Zealanders Fishing</i> (Queen Charlotte Sound)	8 + 12 persons 7 x m 1 x f? 12 x m in waka taua	3 x probable, 1 youth, 1 rear view too distant to tell
MS 23920, f. 50. <i>New Zealand War Canoe bidding defiance to the Ship</i>	23 persons 16 x m 3 x f + 1 ? 1 child 2 obscured	6 x bearded + 2 x possible
MS 23920, f. 51. <i>The Crew Peaceable</i>	24 persons 10 x m 5 x f 2 x children 6x gender uncertain	5 x bearded 7 x not bearded 3 x obscured
MS 23920, f. 49. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	23 persons 13 x m 4 x f 4 x young persons 2 ?f obscured	6 x bearded (5 faces obscured)
MS 23920, f. 46. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	27 persons 16 x m 4 x f 4 x obscured, gender unclear	7 x bearded

Table 3.5 Parkinson, overview, probable female images

Identification	gender	hairstyle	tattoo
MS 23920, f.60 (a)	F? M	Hair covered	
MS 23920, f.60.(f)	F	Short hair	throat
MS 23920, f.62 (a)	F?	Hair covered	
MS 23920, f.62 (b)	F	Short hair	throat
MS 23920, f.65 (b)	2x?	Both with hair covered	

Table 3 6 Parkinson, possible female hairstyle from composite images.

Identification	gender	hairstyle
MS 23920, f. 44. <i>New Zealanders Fishing</i> (Queen Charlotte Sound)	20 persons 7 x m 1 x f? 12 x m in waka taua	2 x small knot, 1 x indistinct, 1 x poss. tied at nape of neck hair covered all apparent topknots
MS 23920, f. 50. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i> <i>bidding defiance to the Ship</i>	23 persons 16 x m 3 x f + 1 ? 1 child 2 obscured	15 x topknots, + 1 x bald? 4 short hair 1 x short hair
MS 23920, f. 51. <i>The Crew Peaceable</i>	24 persons 10 x m 5 x f 2 x children 7 x gender uncertain	10 x topknots 5 short hair 2 short hair 6 short hair, 1 totally obscured
MS 23920, f. 49. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	23 persons 13 x m 4 x f 4 x young persons 2 ?f obscured	12 x topknots (+1 obscured) 4 x short hair (1 poss tuft) 4 x short hair 2 x head obscured
MS 23920, f. 46. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	27 persons 16 x m 4 x f 4 x obscured, gender uncertain (2 totally obscured) 1 child	15 + (1 presumed) x topknots 4 x short hair 4 x short hair (possible male) short hair

Table 4.1 Parkinson, overview studies and portraits, showing hair adornment

Identification	gender	hairstyle	headdress
MS 9345, f.12.	M	Not shown	
MS 23920, f.56.	M	Smooth or double knot	feather
MS 23920, f.55 <i>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</i>	M	Double knot	3 feather & heru
MS 23920, f.60 (a)	F? M		hat
MS 23920, f.60 (b)	M	Smooth or doubleknot	3 feathers
MS 23920, f.60 (c)	M	doubleknot	Heru (titireia)
MS 23920, f.60 (d)	M	Short splayed tuft	3 feather & small heru
MS 23920, f.60 (e)	M	Doubleknot	Tall headdress
MS 23920, f.60.(f)	F	Short hair fem	
MS 23920, f.62 (a)	F?		hat
MS 23920, f.62 (b)	F	Short hair	Small leaf circlet
MS 23920, f.54 (a) <i>Portrait of a New Zeland Man</i>	M	Small roll	Titireia
MS 23920, f.65 (a)	2xM ?	1 x indistinct	1 x hat
MS 23920, f.65 (b)	2x?		2 x hats
MS 23920, f.61 (a)	M	Doubleknot	3 feather & titireia
MS 23920, f.61 (b)	M	Doubleknot	Tall headdress
MS 23920, f.61 (c)	M	Doubleknot	1? Feather & titireia
MS 23920, f.61 (d)	M	Short tuft	Tall headdress
MS 23920, f.61 (e)	M	Doubleknot	3 feather & titireia
MS 23920, f.61 (f)	M	Thick cropped tuft	Huia feather
MS 23920, f.63 (a v)	M		hat
MS 23920, f.63 (a)	M		Unknown round
MS 23920, f.63 (b)	M	Small knot	Tall headdress
MS 23920, f.63 (c)	M	Double knot	Uncertain
MS 23920, f.63 (d)	M	Double knot	Tall split headdress
MS 23920, f.63 (e)	M	Indistinct knot	
MS 23920, f.64 (a)	M	Small double knot	Indistinct, poss tall headdress
MS 23920, f.64 (b)	M	Small doubleknot	Titireia
MS 23920, f.64 (c)	M	Small doubleknot	Tall split headdress
MS 23920, f.64 (d)	M	Small doubleknot	3 feathers & titireia
MS 23920, f.64 (e)	M	Small doubleknot	Tall split headdress
MS 23920, f.64 (f)	M	Doubleknot	2? Feathers

Table 4.2 Parkinson, overview, composite images, showing headdress

Identification	gender	hairstyle	headdress
MS 23920, f. 44. <i>New Zealanders Fishing</i> (Queen Charlotte Sound)	7 x m 1 x f? 12 x m in waka taua	2 x small knot, 1 x indistinct, 1 x poss. tied at nape of neck all apparent topknots	3 x feathered hats 1 x feathered hat
MS 23920, f. 50. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i> <i>bidding defiance to the Ship</i>	23 persons 16 x m 3 x f + 1 ? 1 child 2 obscured	15 x topknots, + 1 x bald? 4 short hair 1 x short hair	12 x 2-3 feathers 2 x titireia 3 x leaves
MS 23920, f. 51. <i>The Crew Peaceable</i>	24 persons 10 x m 5 x f 2 x children 7 x gender uncertain	10 x topknots 5 short hair 2 short hair 6 short hair, 1 totally obscured	2 x heru 4 x leaves
MS 23920, f.49 <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	23 persons 13 x m 4 x f 4 x young persons 2 ?f obscured	12 x topknots (+1 obscured) 4 x short hair (1 possible tuft) 4 x short hair 2 x heads obscured	5 x 3 feathers 4 x heru 1 tall headdress 2 x leaves or flower
MS 23920, f. 46. <i>New Zealand War Canoe</i>	27 persons 16 x m 4 x f 4 x obscured, gender uncertain (2 totally obscured) 1 child	15 + (1 presumed) x topknots 4 x short hair 4 x short hair (possible male) short hair	1 x heru & tall h/d 1 x heru & 3 feathers 1 x 4 feathers 3 x 3 feathers 3 x 2 feathers 2 x 1 feather 4 x leaves

APPENDIX C: THE COLLECTED CLOAKS FROM COOK VOYAGES

The known collected cloaks from Cook voyages have been examined for their evidence of dogskin. At least forty cloaks with credible documentation have been traced to Cook's expeditions.¹ They are located in British, Irish, Scandinavian, European and Australasian collections, but to date, no detailed compilation of the collected categories has been made. From the available sources, garments with dogskin attached have been identified and are described below, with images where available.

BRITISH MUSEUM

Kaeppler lists the British Museum as holding three cloaks with possible Cook provenance, only two of which have dogskin.²

1. British Museum NZ 125

A overlaid dogskin cloak (not illustrated) approximate measurements, L. 97.5 cm, W. 123 cm, with close vertical rows of narrow dogskin strips, without hair. Skin strips extend beyond taniko border creating fringe at hem.³

2. British Museum NZ 135

A cloak with horizontal warp (not illustrated) approximate measurements, L. 132 cm, W. 154 cm, with a buff and brown plait at the neck edge, three sets of rich brown warps inserted. There is a piece of taniko at the bottom right hand corner, and a second incompleted piece of taniko. Some short strips of dogskin are attached to inner corners of the cloak by spaced blanket stitch.⁴

¹ Adrienne L. Kaeppler, 1978. *Artificial Curiosities*. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaii, p. 171.

² Kaeppler, 1978, p. 171. The third cloak B.M. 137 has no skin attachments. Roth, 1979, *The Maori Mantle*. Ruth Bean, Carlton, Bedford, England, p. 95. Other items were probably acquired by the Museum in the nineteenth century. Personal communication, Jill Hasell, Museum Assistant, (Oceanic collections) British Museum, 6 and 11 December 2000. They include, Q91.Oc.44 no information available, and 11-11.1 acquired by the museum in 1837; also, NZ 136 with small amounts of dogskin attached to top and bottom.

³ Margery Blackman, personal communication, 28 May 2001. Also see H. Ling Roth, *The Maori Mantle*, Bedford, 1979 (originally published in 1923), p. 91, fig. 72.

⁴ Blackman, personal communication, 28 May 2001. Ling Roth, p 56-7.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY MUSEUM OF ARCHAEOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

The Cambridge Collection holds six cloaks, of which two have dogskin.⁵

3. Cambridge Collection No. D24.80

A cloak (not illustrated) L 88.5 cm, W 123-6 cm, closely overlaid with vertical rows of narrow dogskin strips. Plaited strips are attached to the selvages at about 2 cm intervals with fibre tacking; small dog hair tags are tied to these strips at intervals of about ten to every 5.5 cm. A thick band of doubled dogskin tags is attached to the lower border of the cloak.⁶

4. Cambridge Collection No D24.85.

An overlaid dogskin cloak (not illustrated) L ?cm, W ?cm. Short strips of dogskin attached by spaced blanket stitching.⁷

PITT RIVERS MUSEUM, OXFORD

The Pitt Rivers Museum, Oxford, holds six cloaks, of which three have dogskin.⁸ Lengths of the cloaks are not given.

5. Pitt Rivers Collection No. 103

A dogskin cloak (not illustrated) W 147 cm, of fine flax with two brown borders and white strips of dogskin at two corners.⁹

⁵ F. Wilfred Shawcross, 1970. "The Cambridge University Collection of Maori Artifacts Made on Captain Cook's First Voyage" *Journal Polynesian Soc.* 79 (3): 305-348. Numbers 1924.80-1934.85.

⁶ Shawcross, p. 322-4.. The others are: D24.81 A kahu toi, or rain cape, L 102-8, W 136-25 with a dense ruffed collar. D24.82 no description. D24.83 A Kahu toi, L69 cm, W 95-101 cm, with doubled thrums of anticlockwise twisted fibre, about 20 cm long. D24.84 Light brown kaitaka, L 106-10 cm, W 242-50 cm, with a 31 cm deep border of light and dark taniko creating a pattern of vertical herringbone and light spots.

⁷ Blackman, personal communication, 28 May 2001.

⁸ Kaeppler, 1978, p. 171, and P. Gathercole, n.d. [1970] *From the Islands of the South Seas 1773-4 : An Exhibition of a Collection Made on Capn. Cook's Second Voyage ...* by J.R. Forster. Oxford, Pitt Rivers Museum. Pitt Rivers Collection No. 102. Recorded as 'a feathered Coat, made of the N.Z. flax, & interwoven with parrots & ducks feathers: this from Dusky Bay' the garment identified as No. 102 does not match the description. The garment is a coarse flax one with a fringe along the lower edge and no feathers, W 188 cm. No. 105, A plain cloak, W 147cm, of fine flax with three pairs of thin brown stripes. No. 107, which is listed as 'A Shaggy great Coat' is missing,

⁹ Refer Gathercole. Catalogue description is unsatisfactory because it does not indicate the proportion of dogskin used, and the term 'brown borders' fails to give clear indication of materials or techniques.

6. Pitt Rivers Collection No. 104

A plain cloak (not illustrated) W 115 cm, of fine flax with white strips of dogskin at the corners.

7. Pitt Rivers Collection No. 106

A plain cloak (not illustrated) W 119 cm, with a thick brown border and two strips of dogskin.¹⁰

NATIONAL MUSEUM OF IRELAND, DUBLIN

The National Museum of Ireland holds six cloaks or parts thereof.¹¹ To date, only one description has been forthcoming, which is included here because the evidence suggests it initially had dogskin attached.¹²

8. Trinity College Dublin Collection No.1882.3729

Kaitaka paepaeroa (not illustrated) L 133 cm, W 183.5cm. Cloak outlined with a doubled row of dark running stitch around three sides; and with a deep, black taniko border with meandering design, similar to the Stockholm Cloak, 1848.1.63. A few long stitches at the bottom of the taniko suggest that originally there were narrow strips of dogskin attached.¹³

¹⁰ Refer Gathercole catalogue. Materials or techniques of the 'thick brown border' are unclear, the phrase may refer to a deep taniko border.

¹¹ J.D. Freeman, 1949, 'The Polynesian Collection of Trinity College, Dublin, and the National Museum of Ireland' in *JPS* 58 Vol. 1, pp 1-18. Freeman confirms there are six cloaks but gives no descriptions or further information.

¹² The other cloaks are Collection Nos. 1882.3730, 3731 (An unfinished kahu, L 62.3 cm, W 114.5 cm.) 3732, 3733, 3734. Cherry, Stella, 1990. *Te Ao Maori: The Maori World*, (catalogue). National Museum of Ireland, Dublin, pp.15, 33, 44, 45. See also D. Simmons, 'Draft Catalogues of Maori Material in Scots and Irish Museums' compiled 1997, Auckland.

¹³ Maureen Lander, personal communication, and photograph, July 2001.

ETNOGRAFISKA MUSEET, STOCKHOLM

This museum holds six cloaks, three of which have no skin attachments.¹⁴

9. Stockholm, Collection No. 1848.1.5

A cloak (Figure C 5.1) L 115cm, W 160 cm, closely overlaid with narrow, vertical dogskin strips, a narrow taniko border (horizontal chevron) at the hem, that is substantially hidden by the overlying fringe of dogskin strips.¹⁵

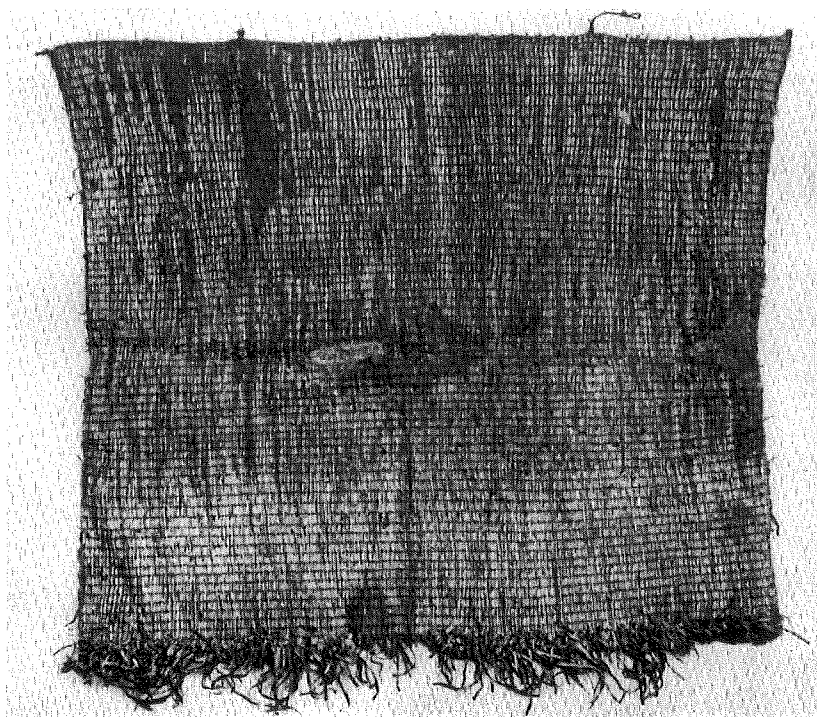


Figure C 5.1 Stockholm cloak No. 1848.1.5

¹⁴ (1848.1.64) Square cloak or rain cape. L 80 cm, W 85 cm. Two-strand fibre plaited twill with horizontal rows of fringing. Rydén, pp. 83-4, Figs.33, 34. (1848.1.6) Undyed rain cape (kahu toi). L 130 cm, W 110 cm. Stig Rydén, , 1965. *The Banks Collection : An Episode in 18th-Century Anglo-Swedish Relations*. The Ethnological Museum of Sweden, Stockholm, Monograph Series, Publication No. 8, p. 81, Figs. 30, 35. (1848.1.7) Harakeke cloak of widely spaced whatu. L 80 cm, W 110 cm. Rydén, p. 80, Figs. 29, 31 35.

¹⁵ Rydén, pp.82-3, Figs. 4, 32, 35. The text describes the strips as 'closely sewn-on' but Fig. 4 shows the strips attached by construction rows of whatu.

10. Stockholm Collection No. 1848.1.6

A cloak (Figure C 5.2) L 125 cm, W 135 cm, with small, narrow, horizontal strips of dogskin spaced across the kaupapa, and twined fibres which may have had attached feathers; a deep black taniko border, with meandering design.¹⁶

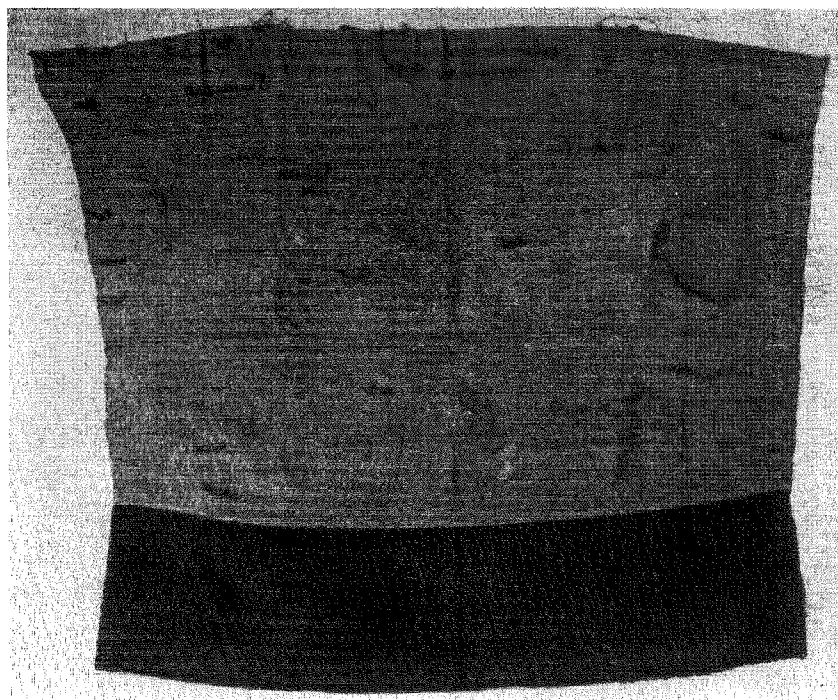


Figure C 5.2 Stockholm Collection No. 1848.1.63. Flax kaupapa with horizontal attachments of dogskin and with deep taniko border of key design.



Figure C 5.3 Detail of 1848.1.63, showing dogskin attachments.

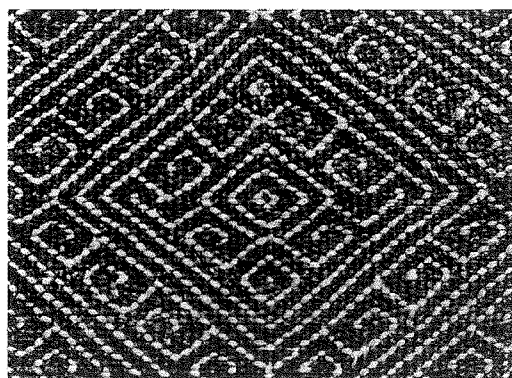


Figure C 5.4 Detail of 1848.1.63, showing taniko design.

¹⁶ Rydén, p. 81, Figs. 30, 35.

11. Stockholm Collection No. 1799.2.2

A plain cloak (not illustrated) L 123 cm, W 151 cm, with cut hems top and bottom. Lower front corners decorated with strips of dogskin along the bottom and up the sides.¹⁷ Sparrman Collection.

MUSEUM FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE, VIENNA

This museum holds one cloak with dogskin attachments.

12. Museum of Vienna, Collection No. 25

A cloak (Figure C 5.) L 114 cm, W 182 cm, with black, brown and natural niho taniwha taniko border, dog hair, dogskin and feathers; small strips of dogskin are attached at the bottom of the taniko.¹⁸

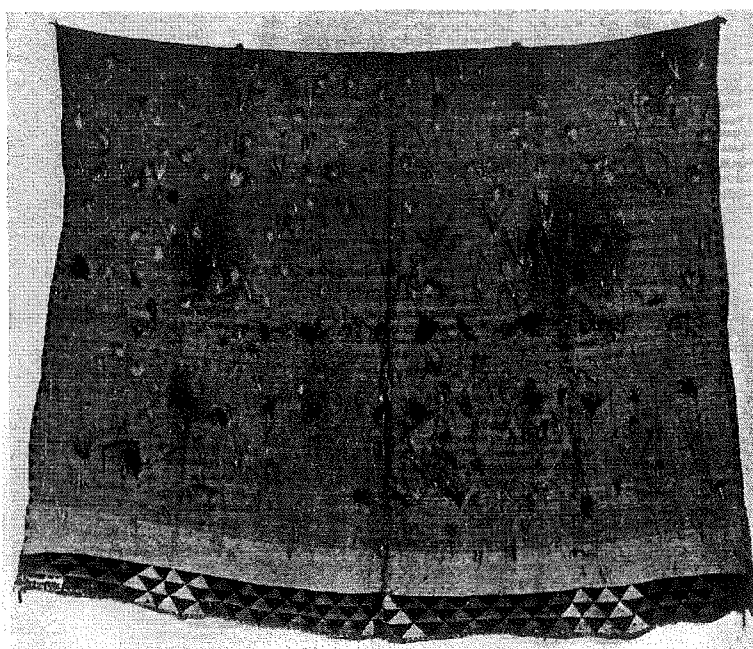


Figure C 5.5 Vienna Collection No. 25. A narrow strip of white dogskin is attached at the lower left corner of the taniko border.

¹⁷ D.R. Simmons, 1981. 'Stability and Change in the Material Culture of Queen Charlotte Sound in the 18th Century' in Auckland Inst. Mus. 18: 1-61. See also Söderström, Jan, 1939. A. Sparrman's *Ethnographical Collection from James Cook's 2nd Expedition (1772-1775)*. Ethnographical Museum Sweden, n.s., Publ. 6. Stockholm, pp. 50-54. To date, this text has not been located.

¹⁸ Kaeppler, 1978, p. 171. This cloak is unusual in that the feathers were inserted to sit upright, rather than the more customary method of lying downwards.

13. Wörlitz (22).

A cloak, from the Forster Collection, L 84 cm, W 125 cm, no description yet available.

INSTITUTE FÜR VÖLKERKUNDE DER UNIVERSITÄT, GÖTTINGEN

The Göttingen Museum holds six cloaks, of which three have some dogskin.¹⁹

14. Göttingen Inv. Oz 314.

A cloak (Figure C 5.) L 113 cm, W 164 cm, 'stained of brick-dust Colour'.²⁰ Made of dark brown dyed harakeke. At both the lower front corners there are three pieces of dogskin attached horizontally, with another small section placed vertically at the edge.²¹

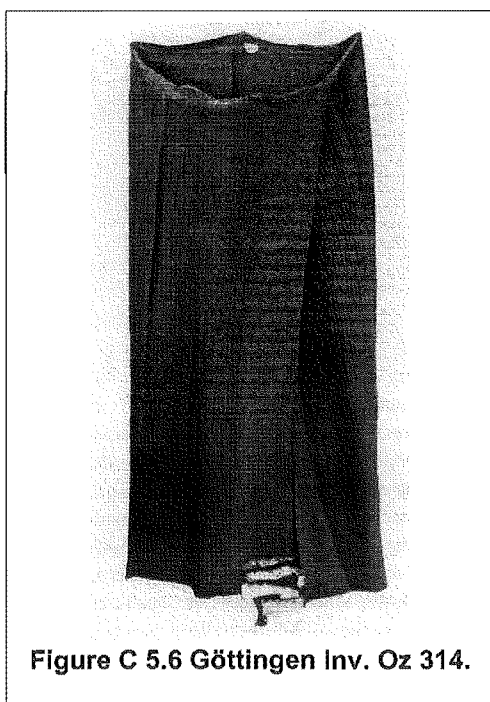


Figure C 5.6 Göttingen Inv. Oz 314.

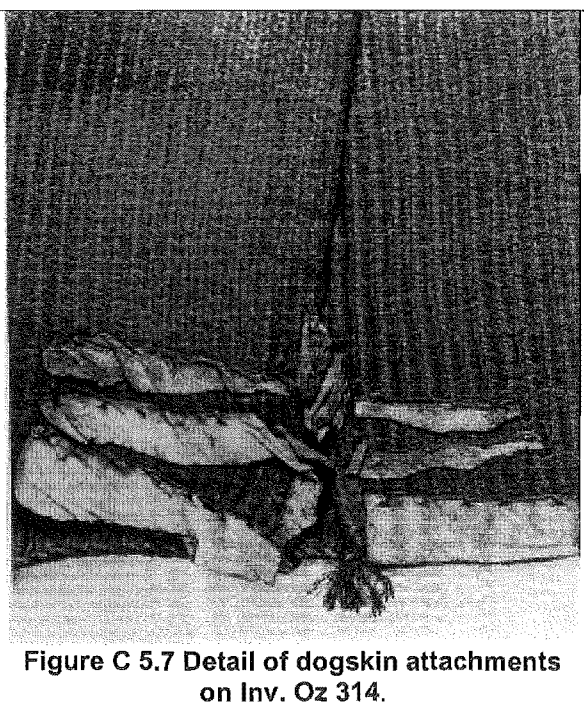


Figure C 5.7 Detail of dogskin attachments on Inv. Oz 314.

¹⁹The Göttingen collection has one other cloak with no dogskin attachments, and one unfinished portion of a cloak. These items are: (Inv. Oz 316) L 105 cm, W 116 cm, a plain cloak with fringes around all four sides. (Inv. Oz 313) L c 65 cm, W 90 cm L of finished part 15 cm. Hauser-schäublin, Brigitta and Gundolf Krüger, 1998 *James Cook, gifts and Treasures from the South Seas. The Cook/Forster Collection, Göttingen*. Munich/New York: Prestel. Kaeppler, 1978b, pp. 304-5.

²⁰A description from the catalogue No. 42, by London collector and dealer George Humphrey, refer Kaeppler 1978b, pp. 91-2, p. 304.

²¹Although the record of the Göttingen Cook/Forster Collection describes this garment as 'mai muka', the vertical aho suggest that it should be identified as a paepaeroa.

15. Göttingen Inv. Oz 315

A cloak (Figure C 5.) L 83 cm, W 120 cm, 'made of the silky kind of flax'.²² Strips of dogskin hang fringe-like from both lower front corners.

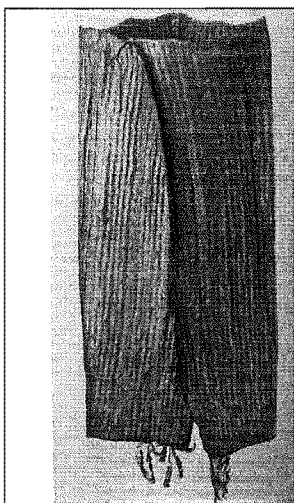


Figure C 5.8 Inv. Oz 315

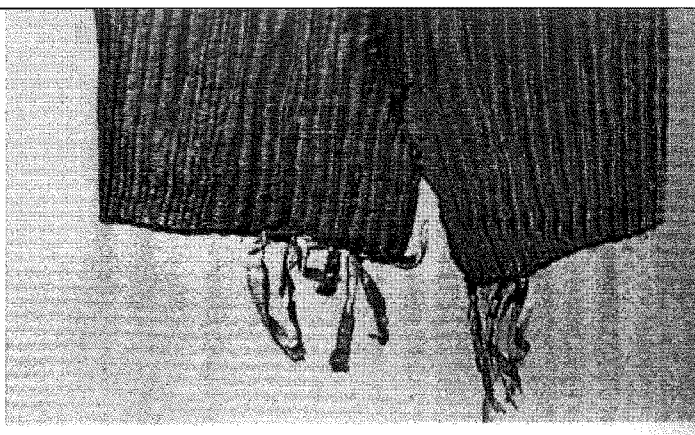


Figure C 5.9 Detail from Inv. Oz 315

16. Göttingen Inv. Oz 317.

A cloak (Figure 5.10) L 107cm, W 135 cm, with six brown horizontal stripes. Remnants of dogskin are attached at the lower front corners of the cloak.

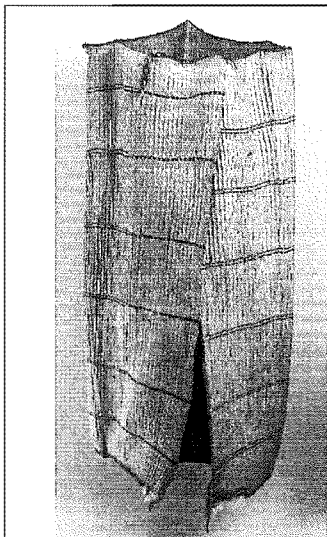


Figure C 5.10 Inv. Oz 317.

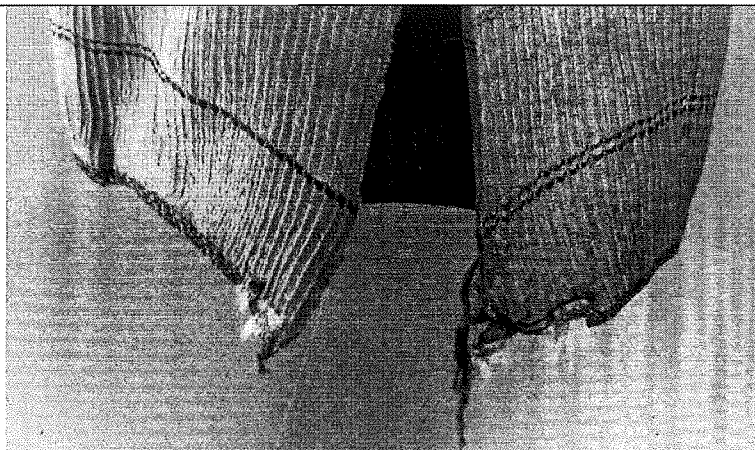


Figure C 5.11 detail from Inv. Oz 317.

²² Description from Humphrey's catalogue No. 39. Kaeppler, 1978b, p. 304.

BERNE HISTORICAL MUSEUM

The Berne Museum holds one cloak.

17. Berne NS 24.

A kaitaka (Figure C 5.) L 123 cm, W 180 cm, with a taniko border of black, yellow and brown design in three sections, having narrow strips of dogskin between some sections and along part of the hem.²³

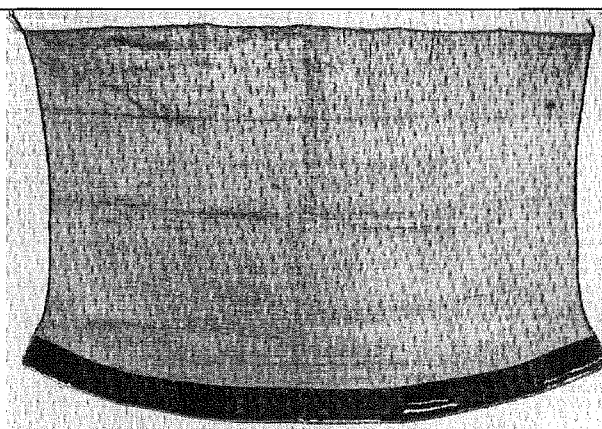


Figure C 5.12 Berne No NS 24

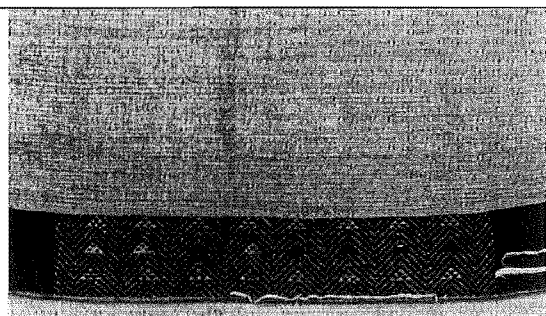


Figure C 5.13 Detail (1) Berne No. NS 24.

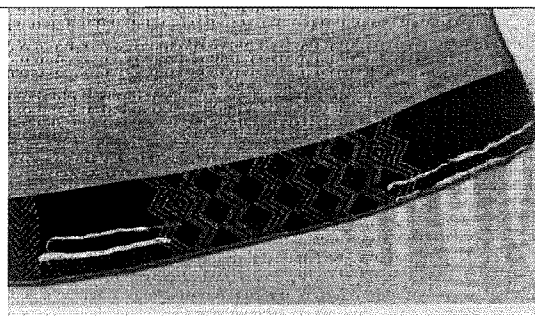


Figure C 5.14 Detail (2) Berne No. NS 24.

FLORENCE MUSEUM

The Florence Museum holds a kaitaka, which has no dogskin.²⁴

²³ Karl H. Henking, 1957. 'A Description of the Webber Collection' in *Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne and Florence Museums*, Kaeppler, 1978, pp. 32, 36.

HANOVER MUSEUM

One cloak is held in the Hanover museum.

18. Hanover 1854, No 33.

A cloak (not illustrated) L 185 cm, W 160 cm, of brown-beige colour with side fringes about 1 cm long. Narrow pieces of dogskin are found at all four corners. 'The strips are fastened to the cloak with wide bands.'²⁵

SYDNEY MUSEUM

One cloak, without dogskin, is held in the Sydney Museum.²⁶

MUSEUM OF NEW ZEALAND

The Museum of New Zealand, Te Papa Tongariro holds two cloaks with possible Cook provenance, but neither have any dogskin,²⁷

From the information available, of the forty-one cloaks identified with possible Cook provenance, seventeen have (or had) dogskin, but only three of these are completely overlaid. None are cloaks of entire pelts stitched together. The evidence indicates that pre nineteenth century Maori were not enthusiastic traders of their dogskin garments.

²⁴ Enrico Hillyer Giglioli, 1893. 'Notes on an Ethnological Collection: Made during the Third Voyage of Cook and Preserved until the End of the Last Century in the Royal Museum of Physics and Natural History in Florence,' published in Kaeppler (editor) 1978. *Cook Voyage Artifacts in Leningrad, Berne, and Florence Museums*. Bernice Pauahi Bishop Museum, Hawaii, pp. 75-76. Collection No 244 A kaitaka, L 90 cm, W 130 cm. Light brown colour, with dark rectilinear and triangular taniko border of 80 mm.

²⁵ Markus Schindlbeck in Kaeppler, 1978b, p. 305. The text does not explain from what material the 'wide bands' are made.

²⁶ H 103. One cloak. Kaupapa horizontally striped in black and natural, dark taniko border, brown side edges.

²⁷ Wellington, ME 7852 and ME 7853.

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ABBREVIATIONS

AMH *Ancient Maori History*. J. White

JPS *The Journal of the Polynesian Society*

TPNZI *Transactions and Proceedings of the New Zealand Institute*

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